

SELF-PORTRAYAL
OF
JAPAN

BY
YOSABURO TAKEKOSHI

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Member of The House of Peers



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—Editor.

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SELF-PORTRAYAL OF JAPAN

I

Japan Misunderstood

WE are apt to feel self-conscious or even embarrassed when we are applauded. We as often become conscious of our own strength and superiority when we find ourselves assailed or spurned. Such is the position that Japan takes with regard to international affairs.

Since the American envoy, Commodore Perry, visited Japan in 1853, and Japan opened her door against her will to international intercourse, a most sweeping and thorough-going change has taken place over the country, transforming it into a modern state in a period of half century or so. Compared with the experience of Europe, where the births of modern states from feudalism had consumed, in some cases, as many as three centuries and, even in less laborious cases, more than two centuries, Japan's transformation,

enormous and phenomenal, and yet achieved in so brief a time, surprised the scholars and statesmen of Europe and America. Surprise found its own expressions, heard and echoed in all parts of the world, some sympathetic and appreciative and others disparagingly critical or censorious. That opinions should have varied was but to be expected. What was surprising was that they had one and each failed to understand the country. To these two groups of minds we have listened now for more than a generation: we have grinned, amused or otherwise.

Japan's Advance Unusual

When the late Viscount Motono was in France as Ambassador some 15 years ago, he happened one day to see Gustave Lebon, an evolutionist and Author of "La psychologie des foules," who took the Viscount to question on one particular matter. The French scholar was of opinion that Japan's sudden emergence from a Far Eastern corner and her development into a world power in so short a time was something quite uncommon in the history of the world, an apparition as sudden and brilliant as a meteor. But as a meteor, which one night flashes across the sky to the wonderment of mankind below, passes out of sight as suddenly, so was not Japan's career to be as fleeting. For it was against the law of evolution, he said, that anything should develop so prodigal energy as Japan had done in 50 short years and yet remain in existence.

In reply Viscount Motono said that Japan had at-

tained her world position, not in half century or so, but in the twenty-five centuries through which she had moved on step by step to the achievement of her present civilization. Lebon further said that he had read a couple or so of books on the history of Japan and, although the Viscount thought his country had a history of twenty-five centuries behind it, it was a history of nothing but incessant warfare amongst the feudal lords and court intrigues. Therefore, if the Viscount believed that his country really had a civilization of its own, why should not he himself write its history? When Viscount Motono was back home from France he told me of the above incident. In Europe, he said, Japan was so little understood even by those who were supposed to have known better. He suggested that I should write on the history of the country and dispel doubts such as had been voiced by the French scholar. I rose to the occasion: "The Economic Aspect of the History of Japan" was the result.

The case of Gustav Lebon will be by no means rare or exceptional even among those who are students of world affairs. Misunderstanding in each instance is due to the picture commonly drawn of our people as our ancestors are imagined to have lived before the country was burst open by Perry, a recluse nation living in a far-away corner of the East sans culture, sans art, sans philosophy, a nation with a history peculiar to itself and quite detached from the rest of the world, moving, acting and thinking only as were told to move, act and think by the feudal overlords. How

could a nation of this sort ever manage to burst forth and take the center of the world stage within but forty or fifty years? Unconvinced, some think that Japan's modern civilization is but a veneer, and ancient feudalism masquerading in a modern garb; some think that her development is something unnatural and bound, sooner or later, to fall to pieces because the whole thing is but an imitation; and still some others regard her in the light of a being of ominous portends, destined in time to ride the chariot drawn by the mighty dragon of China and sweep out afar across the sands of the continent even as the great Ghengis Khan did, bringing death to millions.

Mistaken Ideas

There are still others who liken us to the ancient Greeks, a people who love to follow the pursuit of arms and lead a life of pastoral poetry. Whatever may be their appraisal of us, the mistaken ideas are invariably born of their ignorance of our country. Nor can it be overlooked that we have amongst us a number of minds of so fanatic a bent that would fondly create by piecing together the threads of classical and mythological lore a fantastic tapestry which they dub the ancient Japan, emphasizing its contrast to the rest of the world and decrying whatever fails to fit in with the frame as outlandish, something to be banned and condemned. That this tribe misleads foreign minds is beyond question.

II

Japanese History is a Part of the World's History

IT should never be thought that Japan, before her doors had been forced open by the American Commodore, had followed a course of development peculiar to herself or independent of the rest of the world. The history of the Japanese people opened more than two thousand years ago: they had thought as the peoples of Europe had thought, had suffered as the peoples of Europe had suffered, and had enjoyed life as the peoples of Europe had enjoyed it. The history of the Japanese people had been neither detached nor disjoined from the rest of the world: it had always formed part of the world's history. Japan has become a world power as a result, not of achievements of half century or so, but of the developments made along the same path of progress as has been followed by the peoples of the oldest history in Europe.

There is no people in Europe whose history does not open with an economic structure wherein slave formed a factor of importance. This feature common to all countries represented what is known as the period of a slave economy. This period in Europe was seen around the years in which Spartacus of Rome was active in the fields of battle. In England the system of slave economy began to fall in decay during the Norman Conquest or the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to be replaced by degrees by that of a land

economy. Likewise in Japan, we find at the dawn of her history a slave economy. In the statutes issued in the dynasty of Taiho or at the very beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era, citizenship was distinguished by three classes. The uppermost class was of those who owned property worth not less than 30 kanmon of copper coin, while the lowest class was of those whose property was valued at 1 kanmon or more. Property in the case was not necessarily currency, rice or a slave being convertible in terms of currency. Since in those days a slave was generally traded for a price around 600 mon of copper coin per head, the ownership of one slave and half as many again, approximating a value equivalent to 1 kanmon or 1000 mon, qualified one for citizenship. The slave system in Japan, however, was tempered with leniency as compared with the same practice in ancient Europe. For instance, when a manorial slave became too old to labor, or when he had shown talent above the ordinary in some line, or when his master's affection had been won by his accomplishment of some sort, he was often given freedom. Such cases became so frequent and numerous that the number of slave kept on falling off until at the middle of the Nara period it represented only 15 per cent of the total population, an estimate based on the remains of ancient registers preserved at the Shosoin of Nara. In England, we learn from her historians, the number of slave had declined during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries or about 400 years later than in Japan until it was reduced to 10 per cent

of the whole population. The two countries had much in common.

Slave Economy

In Europe the period of slave economy was followed by the period of a land economy. It was likewise in Japan as well. In the days of slave economy there were less inhabitants and more land. There was not sufficient labor to cultivate land. Labor, therefore, was sought on all sides. Out of necessity were born slave, who were bought and sold and taken by capture. Under the conditions of this period lasting for some centuries population increased and all land was placed under cultivation. Now there was a common urge on the part of the more opulent or powerful to extend their control over the land under tillage and derive income therefrom. This desire gave birth in Europe to the manorial system, and in Japan to "Shoen," meaning villas, a system akin to that of manors. Since this period was featured by common efforts to grasp land and augment income, it is called the period of a land economy. In the process and time of development as well as in the period of duration the "Shoen" of Japan and the manors of England have not a few factors in common.

Now how took place the transition from the land economy to the currency economy period? In the manorial system of Europe as well as in the "Shoen" system of Japan there were developed central points around which trade and manufacture came into acti-

vity. Trade and manufacture called currency into being. When human values came to be considered in terms of money the period of a currency economy was on. This period produced a variety of economic systems, the most noteworthy amongst them being that of gilds. In Europe, the gilds originated among those who were devoted to the service of God and later extended to reach out into the provinces of industrial and political activity until in the twelfth century it developed to a system of a purely economic character. In Japan as well, the gilds had their origin in priestcraft.

Amongst the cases most clearly left on record reference may be made to one for the period of the Genji and Taira clans, corresponding to the second quarter of the twelfth century by Christian chronology. The priests serving at the Shinto shrine of Yamasaki, near Kyoto, claimed the exclusive right of selling the sesame oil used for the rushlight offerings before the altar. The oil was produced in Harima, a province nearly two hundred miles distant from Kyoto, and transported to the shrine over land and water. The sesame oil was even exempt from the duties imposed on the sea and rivers on the way to Yamasaki. Even after the families of the priests had overgrown the sacred service and moved out to the city of Kyoto to lead a secular life as ordinary citizens, the monopoly right of the sesame oil trade was still vested in their families and developed under the same condition. This system in Japan was called "Za." The exclusive

right of selling the rice malt used for "sake" breweries was likewise claimed by the Shinto priests of the Ono-no-Miya and developed into "Za" in Kyoto, where the votaries' families had later removed. These "Za" were developed in all lines of industry until throughout the period of the Ashikagas and the Tokugawas, corresponding to the period from the 13th to the 15th century of the Christian era, these exclusive mercantile groups constituted centers of all economic systems of the country. These "Za" formed the centers of self-governing communities all over the country even as in Europe the gilds became the centers of self-government in all cases. These gilds in ancient Japan were constantly at war with the military rule of feudal overlords, with fortunes sometimes rising and sometimes falling.

Scientific Explanation

Geologists tell us that when observed from the geological point of view, all the world, north or south, west or east, is placed on the same strata. A comparison shows at places some variations, in consequence of faults and movements of earth, but on the whole the existent strata of the earth are common to all countries. Through the history of human progress strata run and cross; and these strata are common to all peoples of the world, as was stated above.

It was not before toward the close of the Ashikaga period (the 16th century) that Japan began to learn, though only in fragmentary form, of Europe.

What they knew had been learned by hearsay on the street or accidentally picked up from the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch traders who had things to tell of the countries they had left behind. But intercourse, in a true sense, between Japan and Europe⁵ began not before the conclusion of the commercial treaty of 1858. Such being the truth of the matter, how can it be said, it would be asked, that since two thousand years ago Japan and Europe have had historical strata in common? When spring comes flowers¹⁰ are abloom everywhere; summer brings its corn and fruits; in winter the trees and plants drop their leaves to store there sap in the roots for the coming spring. These things are the same all over the world. Man moves by instinct and knowledge in Asia or in Europe.¹⁵ There is no history of the Japanese people but likewise is the history of the peoples of Europe. After all, there can be no history of any individual nation but is a part of the history of the world. He who would understand Japan should bear this mind²⁰ above and before all else.

III

Japanese Understanding of

Foreign Peoples

IT is the instinct of the animals to like what is akin²⁵ to themselves and to condemn what is unlike themselves. Man is superior to all other animals and capable of progress like no other being is, because man

seeks affinity and incongruity not in outward form, but in mind. The kinship of minds makes for sympathy, friendship and understanding, which unite all peoples as of one family. To let color of skin, figures of speech, forms of writing, modes of clothing or dwelling, influence our minds against others would be descending to the level of Philistinism. In the days of Kaei and Ansei or the years when our country was about to enter into commercial and friendly¹⁰ relations with America and countries of Europe, our people, moved by their instinctive thought of seeking affinity and repelling what is strange, regarded all foreigners as barbarians; and the view that it were both disgraceful and dangerous to have intercourse¹⁵ with them was put forth on many sides and as often supported. This view made an appeal to the men in the streets, who in turn, painted it in exaggerated colors and passed it on from mouth to mouth. The question of whether the country should be opened or²⁰ not was discussed and harangued with a freedom matched by its excitement. The Imperial Court of Kyoto was scarcely less interested. Masamichi Takatsukasa, the highest Councillor to the Throne, who had reigned supreme at court for more than 30 years,²⁵ supported the progressive view of opening the country, discountenancing the isolationist argument. He held that inasmuch as the country had traded with China and Holland for more than 300 years, it would make no difference if trade was opened with America,³⁰ France, Germany, England, except that we should be

dealing with 6 countries where we had dealt with 2. There should be, therefore, no misgivings as to open intercourse with other countries, he said. As it happened, there developed a project to encourage the isolationist view and on the strength of the opinion 5 thus excited to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate, responsible for the open country policy, whereby restoring the government to the throne. The court nobles as one favored the same scheme; the isolationist view became ascendant throughout the country. But 10 once the Tokugawa regime was overthrown not only the isolationist view was heard no longer and the open country policy as quickly established as the line on which all minds were at one, but the civilization of the West was taken into the country in streams 15 even as sea waters might be drawn in through an opened dyke. It was during a period of but few years that our people had displayed themselves unfriendly towards the Americans and Europeans, because of their differences in language, appearance, 20 dwelling or clothing. Those days were gone in no time. We have since then made friends with them as those of close affinities; and as such, we have appreciated and understood them and took friendly interest in them. 25

There is today no people in the world who understands other peoples better than the Japanese do, or any people more arduous in learning what is good in others and appreciating the achievements of other peoples. There are in Japan few who are good at 30

speaking foreign languages; but there are not a few who know English history better than some Englishmen, or who can appreciate French literature better than some French people. In Japan lessons in the 5 English language are broadcast from the central station for half an hour every morning. In the institutions above the grades of middle schools a course in English is prescribed as the first foreign language required, and another is likewise required as a selective 10 course. In the middle schools themselves English is taught side by side with the native language. It is learned from the annual reports of the Department of Education that as cumulative results of school education during the past 40 years, those who know 15 English in the country already number more than 5 million. Where is any country, it may be asked, where the study of foreign languages is pursued with more ardour? What is more, these studies are made with an attitude not as of a Britisher who studies 20 French because of his intended travels on the continent, or of a Frenchman who makes himself familiar with English because of his trip across the channel. For our people it is not the matter of taking in a linguistic stock of everyday things, but a serious task 25 of learning and absorbing external civilizations through books and periodicals.

It is not improbable that this intellectual avidity of the Japanese people is regarded as a result of the country's poverty in civilization, a thirst for knowledge 30 from external sources because the springs in the coun-

try are gone dry. Such conclusion would be over-hasty, to say the least. It was the lot of the Japanese people to acquire early in their career a wealth of experience and knowledge in political, economic, and social lines. They were a lettered people earlier⁵ than any nation in Europe was. They had developed and elaborated a national scheme of culture quite their own and of no mean order, before their country was opened to outside intercourse. Japan used in agricultural work both wooden and iron hoes in the dynasty¹⁰ of Taika, corresponding to the middle of the 7th century. In the following century iron hoes were in general use. It is on record that the Emperor Mommu who opened the dynasty of Taiho in the year 701 of the Christian Era, granted to the Minister of the¹⁵ Right, Minushi Abe, 500 rolls of pongee, 400 cords of silk yarn, 500 pieces of clothing, 10,000 iron hoes. In these years both wooden and metal hoes were in use in the less advanced regions, but the more prosperous farmers in regions closer to urban areas had been²⁰ using metal hoes exclusively. In the period of Heian, roughly beginning in the last quarter of the 8th century, the wooden hoe had completely passed out of use in the country. In England the wooden hoe was found still in use around the 10th century. In the²⁵ period of Taiho or the first quarter of the 7th century Japanese people were manufacturing textiles of quite a high order such as "hisu aya" or cloth of open weave with both sides twilled or "bara aya" (rose twills), similarly fanciful twills. The houses in which³⁰

the nobility lived were roofed with tiling made in kilns. It was also at this time that the gold lacquer such as is used today was introduced. Alluvial gold had already found its way to the market in the form⁵ of merchandise. The metallurgical art had so advanced as to produce in copper alloys statues of Buddha six feet high. In the period of Nara, corresponding to the first quarter of the 8th century, an elaborate system of house registration had been put into prac-¹⁰ tice, the same record being preserved in some part at the Shoso-in of Nara. There was in those years no country in the world that had any system such as Japan had, the sole exception being China, where, however, such practice was unknown outside the capi-¹⁵ tal where the emperors lived.

The Justinian Code of Rome, regarded as one of the highest watermarks of European civilization, though begun early, was not brought forth before 529 A. D. In Japan the beginning of the Taiho era or²⁰ the year 701 of the Christian era saw an achievement of scarcely less importance, the completion of what is known as the Codo of Taiho. This code, laying down principles for the organization of government and society, provided a most comprehensive basis for enact-²⁵ ments dealing with all branches of law. The Code has remained, except for partial abrogations and modifications made necessary under the changed conditions of times, has remained unchanged for 12 centuries as the basis of administration until in the 18th year of³⁰ Meiji or 1885 Prince Ito set up the new system of

ministerial government. This monumental work, entailing sweeping changes, had been preceded by 45 years by an administrative change of scarcely less importance; that is, a set of ordinances issued in the first year of Taika or 645 of the Christian era.⁵ Through this administrative change all land of the country was nationalized for the first time in its history, thus effecting a partial reconstruction of the social system of the country. By this tremendous change, known in history as the reform of Taika, the landed¹⁰ proprietors of all classes, from the nobles and gentlemen owning hundreds of acres of land to petty peasants working their small plots of land, had all their estates confiscated by the state. The government imposed on all free people throughout the country the¹⁵ duty of cultivating land, each free man 2 tanbu in area and each free woman two-thirds as much, there being no obligation for children under the age of 5. The slave, men and women, were each granted acre-²⁰ages equivalent to one-third of what was given to free men and women respectively. The free men and women were placed under the obligation to contribute to the Imperial Household an amount of tax rice fixed per unit area and the manufactures prescribed for each land according to localities. This uncommonly original²⁵ reform proved a complete failure after the trial of one century. The reformed system only served to give an impetus to the birth of manors and, accompanying the development of the manorial system, accelerated the extinction of the slave system. The above change³⁰

had been carried out by the Imperial Court and the nobles close to it, who were moved by the thought of curbing the despotic powers of the rich landed proprietors over the slave, aiming thereby to place the⁵ Imperial sceptre directly over the free people of the country, a school of political thought of unquestionably radical nature, indeed.

IV

Analogy Between Japan

And Europe

10

TURNING to the West we find that the East Roman Emperor, Leo the Isaurian, issued in 726 an edict forbidding the worship of images, and that Pope Gregory in 730 excommunicated the East Roman¹⁵ Emperor. The standardization of the Christian faith went on with remarkable vigor. In Japan, on the contrary, the period corresponding to these ages was marked by a movement for religious union, Shintoism and Buddhism having found a common ground of agree-²⁰ment. Giauki the Buddhist priest holds that the supreme power in the universe is one. Now it was held that Dainichi-nyorai or "Mahavairocana-satathagata," the supreme among Buddhas was no other than Tenshoko Daijingu, the highest among the deities worshipped²⁵ by Shintoism. The religious monism thus introduced set afoot the movement for the amalgamation of the two faiths with the result that in the course of a little over a century the one lost itself in the other. Into

this combination Confucianism stole its way some centuries later. Little the worse, the three faiths of Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism followed their courses, side by side.

History of Japan

It was in these circumstances that the Japanese came to review their past through Shintoism and take pride in their history, to think of their future life through Buddhism, and to give thoughts through Confucianism to the philosophy to guide their present life. Under the influences of the three doctrines the minds of the people were trained until they formed a certain national character. While the priestcraft of Shintoism, the votaries of Buddha, and the learned teachers of Confucianism fought amongst them at times with merciless ferocity even as the Catholic priests and the Protestant clergy did, the people in general opened their minds equally and concurrently to the three faiths from which, as bees gather nectar from all flowers to make their honey, they eclectically picked up the best from each of these teachings. Because these three faiths, incompatible in principle one with another, are alike followed in Japan, European criticism has been made that the Japanese conception of religion is different from what is common to the minds of the European peoples. This view, in fact, is correct; but it should also be known that this eclecticism with which the national mind is alive is characteristic of the civilization of Japan.

It has been mentioned in the foregoing section that before the origin of the manorial system all the lands of the country had been placed under the ownership of the Imperial Family and the central Government, putting into practice the principle of the nationalization of land. At the same time the command of the military system of the country was assumed by the Imperial Family. Men were recruited from all places, and troops organized. When, however, the system of land nationalization broke down for a number of reasons and the nobles, the courtiers and the high officials scrambled for estates, to develop eventually the system of "shoen", the manorial possessions in the country became greater in area than the land owned by the state.

Demesnes expanded as did, for instance, that of Prince Konohe whose manor land of Shimazu covered the three provinces of Hyuga, Satsuma and Osumi. As manor grew in area changed conditions were introduced upon them. A manor in earlier times had been only a series of lands under cultivation. In the course of time the mansion of the lordship or of his deputy became a political center and, next, an economic center of local life. Through these developments civil officers and armed men became necessary for the administration and protection of a manor. A tribe of armed professionals was introduced to manors. This was followed by the births of clan families of such as Genji and Heike who, by possession of scores and hundreds of manors, rose into power, their influences extending

afar. The state owned lands passed for the most part to the private ownership of nobles, courtiers and high officials. The Imperial Family was no longer in a position to recruit manhood and to organize troops. In consequence, whenever rebellious forces had to be 5 dealt with, it was necessary to call upon the Genjis, Heike, or some rich landed proprietors who could muster many soldiers, because of their possession of many manors. Both Genjis and Heike carried on wars for prolonged periods with the Buddhist monas- 10 teries likewise in possession of many demesnes and armed forces, their strife continuing for 200 years from the middle of the Heian period or the 11th century of the Christian era. These powerful manorial chief- 15 tains took a patriarchal position towards the soldiers on their estates. Brought in constant and intimate contact, they were placed in relations as of ruler and subjects. There was born the belief that the subject should bear any sort of hardship and, if necessary, should as lief lay down his life for his master. He 20 who had actually lived up to this moral thought was honored and made widely known as a true hero.

Moral Thought

In later ages the same moral thought was ex- 25 tolled in poetry, chanted in music and dramatized on the stage until it became a common saying that parent and child are for one life, man and wife for two lives, and ruler and subject for three lives. The meaning is that a parent and a child are so related one with

the other for this life only, and a man and his wife for this life and for the life to follow, while the relations between a ruler and his subject are so tightly formed, as to continue not only for this life and next, 5 but also for the life that is to come after next.

During this long period of incessant warfare a code of honor was brought forth on the field. It had passed into common belief, somehow or other, and became an unwritten law that a true soldier, when 10 on the field of war, should not only prove his mettle but should also observe the etiquette of the field. Any one who failed to act true to the same code was disgraced as a delinquent and a coward. Such condemnation was dreaded more than death. It is told that 15 Kumawaka-maru, a youth in close attendance on the Emperor Godaigo, pledged to avenge his father's blood, took a trip from Kyoto to Island Sado, where one night he stole into the mansion of Homma Yama- 20 shiro Nyudo, the lord of the island, whose life he had come to take. When the youth found his man asleep he rose equal to the moral thought that to kill a man in sleep would be an act of cowardice. He awoke the man and struck him with the sword as he rose to his feet. This is illustrative how studiously was 25 observed the code of honor that had been born on the field of war. A case akin to that of Alexander the Great who, when advised to make a night attack, said that he wished to win victory but not to steal it.

Moral Standard Established

As a stone or a rock produces sparks when struck, so contact between man and man, when under the severe impact of battles, produced a moral standard of no mean order. This standard born of wars was called Bushido in later ages. This moral thought had its origin towards the close of the manorial ages or the 10th century of the Christian era, and went on growing until it attained its full growth in the earlier years of the Tokugawa period or in the 16th century. The same code of honor, though originally confined to the one class of armed professionals, later went into general use to rule the everyday conduct of all people. Of uprightness, truthfulness, honesty, courage, fortitude, proper to the Japanese people, were born among the agricultural people an agricultural code, and among the traders a commercial code. These codes, mingled and mixed, in concert and in union, with Bushido, gave rise to moral standards proper to our country.

It is said that what is comparable in Europe to Bushido is knighthood or chivalry. Knighthood flourished in the days of the Crusades; it was extolled and rhapsodized in the Middle Ages. In conferring the order of knighthood the king used to touch with the fat of his sword the back of the man to be honored. When the accolade was over a coat of arms was fastened on the knight's sleeve, such insignia varying according to classes and orders. In Japan the soldiers

used to place their family crests only on their standards and clothing, their crests being significant of no differences in classes or orders. But upon the leaders of armed groups were conferred titles such as Mutsuno-Kami, Kozuke-no-suke, Daizen-daibu, titles of court functionaries, preserved in name but in reality without any political power so as to distinguish their court ranking. John Ruskin, speaking of chivalry, has observed that it is an institution formed for many years by the knights who were content if provided with horses, arms and provisions from day to day. His remark might well be applied to the Bushido of Japan. As chivalry in Europe has developed into gentlemanship in later ages so Bushido in Japan has later been generalized and developed into a national code.

V

The Growth of Free Trade Movement in Japan

CHINA was the only country with which Japan had traded before she opened commercial relations with Holland at the beginning of the 17th century. Trade with China, however, had been conducted exclusively by the groups of interests to which charters were given. These exclusive trade interests were represented by Horaku Sha, a group with special connections with the Great Shinto Shrine of Ise; the court nobility; the Tenryuji temple of Kyoto; the so-

called "Tandai" or governor of the island of Kyushu; the three lordships of Satsuma, Bungo and Suo provinces; the Shinto shrine of Tono-mine, in Yamato province.

The case is not unlike that of Spanish and Portuguese Catholic groups which traded under charters of the Roman Church in the 15th century, or that of the East India Companies of England and Holland in the 17th century authorized to have the exclusive right of trading with the Indies. The trade license system of Japan had its origin in the earlier part of the 15th century, approximately in the same period as kindred systems were developed in Europe. In internal trade, too, the groups known as "Za," similar to the mercantile guilds, and their combines known as "Nakama," because of their history and their payment of taxes, had the exclusive control of certain trades, giving no chance for competition from new traders. Under these circumstances both internal and external trades were alike under license control systems.

Free Trade in Europe

In Europe the free trade theory originated in England around 1640 as a revolt against the protectionist system under which cooperate bodies enjoyed exclusive privileges. In Japan a similar movement was set afoot as early as 1570 and found a strong protagonist in Oda Nobunaga, who had succeeded the Ashikagas as military regent of the country. While

his task of subjugating the whole country was left unfinished, wherever his influence extended, the exclusive rights of "Za" and "Nakama" were destroyed, all traders being given the chance of doing business in freedom from the pressure of the privileged bodies. Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who took up Nobunaga's work where it had been left and placed the whole country under his power, later sending over expeditionary forces to Chosen in the first year of Genroku (1592), was, as befitting the pupil brought up in Nobunaga's school, strongly in favor of free trade. When he proceeded to the islands of Kyushu in the 14th year of Tensho to complete his conquest of the whole country, he issued at Hakata, the center of industrial activity in the island, an order that 'At this place there shall be no "Za,"' plainly enforcing his free trade principle. Where his influence extended not only trade was freed from the pressure and rule of guilds and their associations but a great number of free ports and free marts, respectively known as "Rakutsu" (free harbors) and "Rakuichi" (free fairs), were brought into being as independent places free from interference and taxation of feudal lords.

These developments took place not only because the traders wished for freedom but also because the feudal lords themselves, realizing how much better business would be brought to their own lands through granting of freedom to trade, gave of their own will permission and support to those movements. Hideyoshi's expedition to Chosen in 1592 was undertaken

not merely as a matter of military ambition or from his wish to add a feather in his military cap. It was done because he wished to punish the court of Ming which had for long since closed the country to Japanese trade. He hoped to reopen Ming's country at the point of the sword. The trade between China and Japan before the time of Hideyoshi had been as such in reality but not in name: China refused to term it trade. China agreed to import Japanese merchandise only in the form of accepting tributes from the same direction, and paid for the so-called tributes under the pretense of repaying something for the courtesy paid to her court.

Tribute Making

The Japanese of those days, therefore, called their trade with China "tribute making." In the opening years of the Ashikaga period or at the dawn of the 16th century hordes of Japanese pirates, sailing in hundreds of boats and in groups of thousands, began to swoop down on the coast of China. To put an end to the piracy China positively forbade any "tribute making" by Japanese shipping. Thus the country's trade with China had come to an end. In the times of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi Japanese pirates no longer raided the Chinese waters. However, China kept her ports closed to Japanese shipping. Hideyoshi, after his conquest of the country, repeatedly proposed to China the renewal of trade; but China persisted on her attitude. It was for this reason that Hideyoshi

launched his military enterprise to enter Ming by way of Korea and force open her long closed portals.

This is evident in the fact that the terms Hideyoshi proposed at the peace conference contained a clause relating to "tribute making." This may be seen in comparison with the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch traders, who, finding their way into the East about the middle of the 16th century, achieved their commercial purpose under the naval ordnance arrayed for no secret purpose; Hideyoshi's expedition to the peninsula was of contemporary occurrence. It may be seen how the people of Japan, though unwittingly, were moving by the thoughts kindred to those common at the period to the peoples in other parts of the world.

Free Trade Idea

The free trade idea born under these circumstances was pronounced as a matter of Japanese Government policy in clear-cut terms such as never heard before by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who had founded the regime that was to continue in his family for many years. This is set down in the charter granted in the second year of Genna or 1616 A. D. to one Yashichi to engage in trade with Annam. The same document ran in part as follows:

"Trade means ministering to each other's wants, and thus benefiting others as well as self. We should not benefit ourselves at the cost of others. Where profit is considered mutually what little that may be

realized will really be much but where profit is not shared mutually that which may be much will be really little. The word "Ri" or profit means an agreeable settlement. In foreign countries speech and customs may be different from ours: but wherever one may go one will find that there is no difference in the reason that Heaven has bestowed on us. Remember that which is always a rule; never slight that which is foreign; never practise falsehood. If others should fail so to do, that is no reason why thou shouldst do likewise. Truthfulness will move even fish and swine; where there is no harm meant even seagulls court intimacy. Be it known that heaven tolerates no falsehood. Be wary not to disgrace thy country. When in presence of a man of high virtue, respect him even as thou wouldst thy father or thy master. Be observant of the law of the country thou art in; follow the ways of the people thou art with."

The year 1615 in Europe was marked by the utterance given first in history to free trade as a protest against a number of organizations engaged in internal trade under the exclusive and benevolent influence of protectionist policy. But the expression in question was only as far as internal trade was concerned. Japan may well claim that the government was the first in the whole to state in clear-cut terms that trade between nations should be give and take, supply and demand, live and let live.

Foreign people not uncommonly think that the

history of Japan, as seen in the instances of so many other countries, is nothing but a continuation of feudal warfare and court intrigues; but under the life of the nation whose story is presented in a sequence of fighting men and intriguing minds there was running, as seen above, a cross-current of rising free thoughts. A change in the mode of living entails a change in thought; a change in thought entails a change in the mode of living. In some things Europe preceded Japan; in other things Japan preceded Europe. Things have come about differently, at different times, in different ways, in different conditions; but after all is known, the history of Japan is but part of the history of the world.

VI

Where the Ways Parted for Japan and Europe

WE have of late heard some visitors from America and Europe express their admiration at the classic elegance of "No" productions and at the beauty of the players' clothing heavily embroidered in gold and silver. But none of them seems to have been aware that the "no"-play is a sister to the opera of Europe. The opera had its origin in India; that which later followed a westward course entered France and Italy to develop into the art that is at present. That, on the other hand, which proceeded eastwards entered Cathay and developed into what was known

as "Chiang" and "Yuan Chu," the plays of the Mongol period which were later brought over to Japan by Zen priests of the Five Temples towards the close of the 13th century, to give birth to our "No" recital.

The offspring of the one is the same as that of the other in that verse and its interpretive recital rather than acting are regarded as more important, and that voices are drawn out to express emotional tones. When the opera was introduced from Germany and Italy the two sister arts, opera and "No," found each other in this country six centuries after they had each gone their own ways. Chess, whether of Persian or Egyptian origin, has developed in Europe into the present game of chess, and in Japan into a game more or less different in some points, but similar in general principles.

Intelligence Advanced

It was some time after the country had been opened to foreign trade in 1858. One day an American, making his way along a country road outside Yokohama, which was then only a fishing village marked by a few cottages of farmers and fishing people straggling among woods, happened to buy vegetable of a farmer. When the deal had been made the farmer took out of his bosom a tiny abacus on which he reckoned, and next reached his hand for the "Yatate"—a forerunner of the fountain pen—which was thrust through the sash wound above the waist. Out of this thing he pulled a small writing brush with which he

entered the account in a small book likewise extracted from between the bosom folds, while the stranger looked on the whole procedure in surprise. He was surprised to find a farmer of uncouth appearance so well educated. The apparatus used for reckoning, though somewhat different in shape, was operated on the same principle as the abacus of Europe. The American in the same moment began to believe that the Japanese minds were of an order higher than their outward appearances suggested. The American was surprised at the high literacy of the country because he knew that the gold rush to California, beginning in 1845, had drawn thither crowds of adventurers and fortune hunters who were mostly illiterate. He knew that those men, as shown in the play, "From the Golden West," had to have barmaids read for them and think for them on many things.

It will have been seen from above what kinship there had been between West and East in those days even when the one remained unknown to the other. The world is after all, as Doctor Jaworski truly says, but an organism of which each country is a component cell. The history of each individual nation is part of the history of the world.

Christian Converts

Here, however, we must point out an event of great importance, which opened a gulf between the history of Japan and that of the world, a gulf that was not to be closed for many years. It was due to

the propagation of Catholicism by the Jesuits having taken on the color of political intrigue and activity. The accidental visit of a Portuguese merchantman at Island Tanegashima of Satsuma province in the 12th year of Tensho (1543 A. D.) was followed by the coming of Xavier, who won many converts through his faith and personality. The island of Kyushu, with as many as two million converts, became a veritably Christian country. Xavier's followers and those who carried on the mission after him had neither his mind nor his personality. The Jesuits, true to the school of Ignatius Loyola who stuck at no means to serve his purpose, had so conducted themselves and their work that they were suspected of harboring political designs. The Spanish and the Portuguese, courting the good graces of the Tokugawa Shogunate, descended to a mutual calumny to deepen the suspicion. It was under these circumstances that the Christian rebellion broke out in the 14th year of Kan-ei (1637 A. D.).

Shimabara near Nagasaki had been the center of Christian life in Kyushu. The Christian believers of this place rose in arms against their feudal lord who had suppressed their religion under orders from the Tokugawa Shogunate. One night they stormed and captured the feudal castle of Shimabara. A force of 15,000 effectives, together with more than 22,000 of aged people, women and children, occupied the castle. The Shogunate Government had to call to service an

army of 100,619 strong and spend four months to put down the revolt.

This incidence occasioned the issue of the law positively forbidding Christianity and the landing of foreign people in the country. It also happened that among the retainers who had survived the family of Toyotomi overthrown by the Tokugawa force there were tens of thousands of Christian proselytes. Some of them were lords of feudal provinces, some were leaders of military parties, not a few soldiers who had made their names on the field. Some of these Christians were believed either to be lying low in the country or to have sought refuge in foreign countries after the downfall of the Toyotomis. The Tokugawa Shogunate feared that these elements not friendly disposed towards itself might organize a revolutionary army in concert with the Christians abiding their time abroad. The Japanese shipping were prohibited to sail foreign waters and the nationals to go outside the country. No vessel of more than 500 koku burthen could be built. All ships above that size were confiscated by the Shogunate. The country was closed to all nationals living abroad. While the ports were closed to foreign intercourse, the Chinese and the Dutch only were permitted to come to trade at Nagasaki. These orders were enforced with rigor because of the rebellious outbreak at Shimabara mentioned above.

Isolated Position

Cut off by the surrounding seas, Japan had never

found herself in a position to have much traffic with other countries. Now under the strict law of the Government external intercourse being banned, the country had no means of learning anything of other countries except whatever the Dutch captains happened to know by hearsay. Japan had closed her eyes and ears to the outside world.

Meanwhile great changes were taking place in Europe from the 17th to the 18th century. Old political powers fell and new powers rose. Through economic developments the middle class rose to power, giving birth to democracy and liberalism. Upon the falling in decay of the old systems the freedom of learning rose. The age of science arrived to make its benevolent influence felt in the everyday life of man. Modern civilization rose as the morning sun and its light brightened and travelled afar. Japan, on the contrary, fast bound by the chain of the isolating policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate, failed to join this great world movement. Thanks, however, to the strict enforcement of the isolationist policy the Tokugawas were able to rule in peace for more than 300 years. During all these years there was not a single case of war with any country. The Court of Ming, on the eve of its fall before the Manchu force, sent to appeal for Japan's military aid, but in vain. During all these centuries there was not a single case of rebellious uprising in the country. In these halcyon days the feudal lords promoted industries within their demesnes. Hillsides were cultivated and lands levelled to develop

agriculture. Watercourses were turned to good purposes, and roads built. Lords who had means above the medium feudal class invited scholars from greater cities and opened schools. Learned men were asked for their wisdom to serve as a guide in government. Feudalism, through its patriarchal rule, succeeded in development of national ability and talent to a fair degree. Thus there was no hiatus in the development of the country.

VII

A Civilization Proper to Japan

MEANWHILE the Japanese made striking progress in metaphysics and literature. In the field of the former branch of learning they attained heights scarcely lower than the present day achievements of Europe and America. The philosophers not only taught high thoughts but they lived as men of high character and lofty minds, to be respected and followed by others. In political economy, too, the country's progress was scarcely inferior to that of Europe. The quantity theory of money was not only advanced but even was put into practice. There were metalists to put forth their theory of currency. The idea of managed currency was developed and practised. Bimetallism in a strict sense was put into practice. Gresham's theory that bad money drives out good was pronounced in 1558, but it was not set forth in clear-cut terms before Macleod published his paper in 1857.

In Japan, however, as early as the first year of An-ei or 1772 A. D. Miura Baien, in his work "Ka Gen"—economic fundamentals—put forth his view that bad money would drive out good. That the same author had no means of learning of Gresham or his theory is out of question. Then general state of learning had attained that level which enabled him to conceive such an original theory. Fine arts as well as technical arts made concurrent progress. The artistic and technical accomplishments of the twentieth century Japan are but modifications, innovations and developments of what had been created and developed in those years. Japan before the opening of her door had a civilization which she well could claim as her own.

Unnatural Development

It must be noted that the isolationist policy of the 13th year of Kan-ei (1636 A. D.) compelled the country to follow an unnaturally distorted course of development. Under the law now in force only Chinese and Dutch merchants could come to trade. The Japanese traders were not at liberty to move out a step beyond the confines of the country. Under these circumstances, the external trade of the country was placed completely in the hands of Chinese and Dutch people, the domestic merchants having no freedom to choose broader or better markets to buy from or sell to. Trade being confined to the port of Nagasaki only, all merchandise had to be brought thither. The lu-

crative external trade was monopolized by those merchants who travelled to and from Nagasaki, and by those who had means of communication with the same port town. Since the exports were only those goods which the Chinese and Dutch merchants could traffic in at the least risk to themselves and with the most advantage, trade was confined to a few lines. What is more, the Shogunate, fearing that excessive imports might promote an outflow of gold and silver money, followed a policy of managed trade.

The trade with the Dutch was limited to two ships per year and the value of their merchandise to 3000 kamme of silver, and the trade with the Chinese to 13 vessels per year and the value of goods in each bottom to 200 kamme of silver. This managed trade was a monopoly of the Nagasaki Company which was formed by rich merchants, 6646 in number, of the five cities of Tokyo, Osaka, Sakai, Nagasaki and Kyoto. The chief director and the board members of this company were elders of Nagasaki, who distributed a certain portion of the company's profit amongst landed proprietors and those who kept house in Nagasaki. The Nagasaki Company developed to be an organization in which the merchants of the above five cities and inhabitants of independent means in Nagasaki held stock, an organization in form not unlike the East India Company.

Charter Granted Company

It was in the 5th year of Shōtoku (1715 A. D.)

that charter was granted to the Nagasaki Company, that is, 300 years later than the Merchant Adventurers of England were formed or 150 years later than the foundation of the East India Company. Here, too, some analogy may be noted between the two countries. The difference, however, is that while in England the chartered companies were in a position to extend activity abroad, the merchants of Japan were not. Under the given condition the economic system of the country was constrained to assume form along unnaturally directed lines of progress.

In the meantime sciences had advanced in Europe. Their application gave rise to a mechanical civilization and later to mass production. To secure outlets for the fast expanding production there followed a race for seizure of overseas markets and colonies. Through her belated start in the same race Japan had to pay much. Her start had been delayed by two or three centuries.

When Perry came from America in 1853 Japan rose to her feet under this handicap of several centuries. She has since abridged this handicap to a matter of half century or so. This achievement has been made because we had previously developed a civilization of no mean order, had adequate national training to become a modern state, and had qualities that, once in changed guise and form, could readily meet the requirements of altered conditions. The people of America and Europe marvel at our progress by observing what we have done only in the past 40 or

50 years, but not realizing how through our history of more than a thousand years we have moved on, sometimes preceding and sometimes lagging behind, but on the whole keeping pace and in the same direction as Europe, as pages of history were turned. Such wonderment often causes misunderstanding. As eulogy born of misunderstanding cannot touch our hearts so criticism born of misunderstanding cannot disturb our minds. Our national faith is rooted in deeper thoughts and firmer convictions.

VIII

The Days of Foreign Contempt

IN the first year of Meiji (1867 A. D.) Keiki Tokugawa, the last of the Shoguns, returned to the Imperial court the ruling power of the country, which his family had held for a period of 260 years. The same year saw the demise of the Emperor Komei and the ascension to the throne of the Emperor Meiji. Then opened the career of modern Japan, it is commonly said.

As a matter of fact, it was not at this time that modern Japan was born. Modern Japan had for long been in the process of fermentation. In the above year the heavily fastened lid was removed from the cask in which the process had been going on. The anti-foreign and isolationist sentiment which had ruled the country from one end to the other subsided in only a few months after the Emperor Meiji had been

enthroned and the able men from the former clans of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen had taken the reins of government.

Friendly Policy Adopted

The new government emerging from the cyclonic center of the anti-foreign movement not only followed an open-country and friendly policy towards the foreign countries but endeavored to pattern all administration on the models of Europe and America. When they for the first time saw or heard of warships, ordnance and electric machinery of those countries they were well surprised at the powers and ingenuity of those devices and the heights of the civilization which had produced those things. Before very long, however, it dawned upon their minds that their intellect, learning and mentality had only been developed along different lines, and that theirs was a civilization of no inferior order but in different form, and that their civilization, if only adapted to the new conditions imposed upon them, would enable them to move on with other countries. The high resolve was then taken to begin such changes along those lines for which the Government was directly concerned and responsible.

Hundred of foreigners of expert knowledge and experience were engaged, British officers for the navy, French officers and jurists for the army and for the codification of law respectively, Dutch engineers to direct land and construction works, American scholars in education, German specialists in agriculture, Hun-

dreds of young men selected for their abilities were sent abroad to be educated. The new influences of Europe and America swept through the country for a time. Here was born the root cause of European and American misunderstanding. It was thought that Japan had surrendered her soul to Europe and America. They began to believe that Japan would be content to remain in a second-rate or even in a third-rate position. It was so believed because it was thought that the Japanese people had become conscious of having no civilization that they could claim as their own and uphold as such. Because the foreign nationals all enjoyed extraterritorial rights under the Japan-American treaty concluded in the Ansei period and by the others from which the same paved the way, they thought that they could deal with Japan as they did with countries like Egypt.

Thus the white people's superiority complex was common to the minds of those who came to Japan and lived in Japan. As they saw the Japanese live in houses different from theirs, clothe themselves differently, and observe a different etiquette in company, the natives steadily descended in the white people's scale of esteem.

Japan Misunderstood

It was not for them to understand that Japan had not abandoned her own civilization when she began to learn in the school of Europe and America. It was not for them to understand that Japan intended to

enrich her own civilization by taking in the civilization of other countries and to fall in with the world trends by learning sciences and arts from the same sources. It was past their understanding that Japan had faith in herself; that she firmly believed that when her apprenticeship was over, she would some day be marching abreast with, or even ahead of countries in Europe and America. Nor could the foreigners understand that the ruling as well as the ruled classes were alike following the slogan of combining "The National Mind and Western learning." The foreign people failed to understand that we had faith in our civilization and in our work a will which nothing could bend.

They saw in Japan only fire-arms and puny cannon; they assumed that our conception of armament was narrow and limited. But the peaceful period of 260 years under the rule of the Shogunate, a period of peace not marked by a single case of either internal or external case of armed contest, except for the Catholic uprising at Shimabara, had offered no occasion for development of military engineering. For there is no development of any art except where it is called to service. As a matter of fact, the armories of feudal lords were by no means so poor or contemptible. Among the weapons designed and manufactured by their retainers but never brought to light because of their lordships fear of courting the suspicion of the ruling Shogunate, there were not lacking engines of remarkable ingenuity and progressive design.

Progress Sought

It is to be assumed that had the feudal lords dared to go on manufacturing on those designs the military engineering work of the country would have continued to progress, keeping pace with that of Europe. In the field of swordsmithy alone, however, because the arm was not infrequently called to use in ordinary life, the art of the native forge and the whetstone produced blades unequalled anywhere elsewhere for their sharpness and temper. It would be wrong to pass judgment upon our capacity as armament makers simply by observing our state of progress in those arms for which there had been no requirement.

In the early years of Meiji the Army engaged French officers as its masters and trainers. The soldiers were clad in what the native sartorial minds had developed on the model of military uniforms in Europe, and put through drills. The sight of these soldiers drilling outdoors never failed to pique foreign interest. Because of their stature by no means imposing, because of their quaint outward show, they were the objects of foreign derision as a new version of tintype soldiery. It was even thought too bad sometimes that the country, beguiled by British, French and German trades-people, was squandering away so much gold on arms. But none of these foreign observers who knew to pity or deride us were aware that in the veins of those toy-like soldiers ran the blood of generals not inferior to Napoleon or the blood of strategists who should not rank below Clausewitch.

IX

What Has Been Paid for Under-
rating Japan

JAPANESE management of a man-of-war was similarly once the object of foreign derision. One morning in 1884 a warship under the Russian flag entered the harbor of Nagasaki, where a British war vessel had been at anchor. The captain of the Russian vessel paid a visit to the British captain aboard his ship. In the course of their conversation they happened to touch things of the Far East. The Russian captain gave it as his opinion that the Japanese, because of their decided inaptitude for naval service, were destined to play no role of importance in Far Eastern issues. The British captain, however, contradicted him by saying that the Japanese, because of their high aptitude for the service, would some day play an important role in Far Eastern issues. At this moment a Japanese warship entered the harbor and came to anchor not far from the British and Russian vessels.

The management of the ship up to the moment of casting anchor was so deft that the British officer, well pleased, exclaimed to the Russian colleague asking where he had seen any management of a ship so superb except by British sailors. Was the Russian captain still uncertain as to the future of the Japanese Navy? The Russian captain coldly admitted that he had seen how well the Japanese captain had handled his

ship: but it was the matter of handling a single vessel. Battles on the sea had to be fought by groups of many vessels. He could not possibly believe that the Japanese people had it in them to maneuver any large fleet.

Russia Defeated

Twenty years later the same sea captain was Admiral Alexeieff, viceroy to the Tsar in the Far East, who represented his Government in dealing with Japan until the war broke out. It is a matter of common knowledge that the war resulted in the loss of all Russian naval forces and in her subsequent fall as a world power. It was a trick of fate. Had Admiral Alexeieff, the Russian militarists and nobility known more of Japan, the history of the world would have taken a course other than it has.

When the door of their country was opened the Japanese people turned to learn of Europe and her achievements with avidity as of a man on the brink of starvation. During the period of more than two centuries of isolation there had not been lacking men, who had learned something of the rising tide of Europe through secret channels and raised their voices in emphasizing the necessity of preparing their country to keep abreast with the movement of the time. The downfall of the Tokugawa Shogunate had brought an end to the policy it had jealously guarded.

Now that a new regime had been established and its open-country policy as well, the learning and all new things that Europe had to offer poured into the

country with the force of a flood over a broken dam. Europe and America of those days were in an atmosphere where democracy, liberalism and parliamentarism reigned least challenged. It was the time when international friendship, peace and free trade were being emphasized. Now these ideas, having been found most congenial to the minds of the Japanese, were received with open arms. It had always been characteristic of the Japanese that they not only espoused ideals but also put them into practice, and not guarding them as property of the few enlightened minds, adapted them to their everyday life in general. Confucianism, for instance, as taught by its protagonists in its homeland, was but a theory which few even among the learned translated it into action. When the doctrine was introduced to the country the master's words were not taken to ornament the library but followed in practice.

New Ideas Taught

Similarly, when democracy, liberalism and parliamentarism, constituting the mainstay of European civilization, were made known, the people adopted them with alacrity and put them into practice almost as soon. These new ideas were thus taught at schools, incorporated into legal codes, given form to in administration. Both private schools and governmental colleges became the veritable nurseries of those ideas. The new code of law and the later revised statutes equally savored of the Napoleonic code to a degree. The law of nations

was regarded as the law of the country, being strictly observed in the times of war. Government was newly set up on the patterns common to the civilized countries of Europe. In 1889 the Constitution was proclaimed. The Emperor pledged to exercise the sovereignty in accordance with the terms of the constitutional laws. In the year following the Imperial Diet was created.

Throughout all these years there had been not a single man charged with statecraft, who would have discarded the native civilization as inferior to the European civilization. They took in the civilization of the West in the light of what they believed would have been their own achievements but for the isolation policy imposed on the country for two centuries and more. The whole thing came to them just naturally; there was neither pretense nor misgivings. They were simply functioning the qualities inherent in their race; they had unshaken faith in what they were doing.

When, therefore, Japan developed into a modern state it was not a product of fabrication but an attainment of full stature through its history of many centuries. It was not an imitation but a development.

X

New Japan Not An Imitation But A Development

THE Tokugawa Shogunate had enforced strict rules by which the people were not only to learn nothing of the outside world but they were not permitted

even to devise or employ any appliances other than what had been in use. When this prohibitive power had passed out of existence the country was naturally to see a swing over in other directions. Individuals as factors of the movement now afoot were given freedom of action; the nation began to develop its individuality.

Through public recognition of popular ownership of land an agricultural middle class was brought into being. Unnatural systems and arrangements of trade having been removed, the commercial middle class came to the fore. The soldier class which had formed the center of the political life of country was already following the path of descent under the increasing weight of capitalism about a hundred years after the Keicho era in which the Tokugawa Shogunate had been set up. Then Perry's coming. In the days of Kaei and Ansei, the period marked by the historic event, the soldier class in greater towns had completely gone down before the rising commercial middle class. Feudal lordships barely managed their finances by borrowing money from the trading people whom they had regarded little better than serfs. When the feudal nobility and the soldiers, the ruling classes of feudalism, were thus falling into decay, it was inevitable that the agricultural and commercial bourgeoisie should develop into important component factors of society.

Tokugawa Forces Defeated

In the first year of Meiji the soldiers of the Cho-

shu and Satsuma clans, fighting in the cause of the Imperial Court, dealt a crushing blow to the Tokugawa forces at Fushimi-Toba near Kyoto. Mediocre historians, speaking of the event, have lavished eulogies on what they regard as a great military success such as not seen for ages. As a matter of fact, however, the Tokugawa Shogunate, with its attenuated financial resources, had in reality been as good as dead since around the 18th century. There would have been no need of arms to bring it down. It was a case not unlike that of Musashibo Benkei, who, with his master Yoshitsune, fought their last battle at Koromogawa in Mutsu, north-eastern part of the country. Benkei had been struck with many shafts. Little the worse, he stood and held his ground. The local soldiers saw how the great priest-warrior refused to move and feared to advance in his sight. But when the battle was over they came to find that Benkei had long since been dead, though his lifeless body remained erect.

The Tokugawa Shogunate's case had been scarcely better. It had been dead for decades, though it had managed to remain on its feet. The soldiers of Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa clans had simply performed the burial service of its remains. On its downfall now arose the middle classes. When they grew in importance as component factors of society and individualities of people of those classes were brought into play, it was but natural that Japan was to go through phases similar to what modern Europe had experienced. Just as in Europe so in Japan the rise of the bourgeoisie

developed democracy and a popular demand for liberty and potent parliamentarism. The Japanese had produced 800 years ago swords which a Chinese poet extolled as the best in the whole world, and established swords 400 years ago as an export to China. Why wonder if this people should succeed in iron work to-day? We are the people who produced 300 years ago silk textiles of high workmanship. Why should we not develop an artificial silk industry second to none?

Equality of Mankind

10

We who were early taught in the school of Oriental thought which declared common men were as good as lords of domains not unnaturally had open minds to the thought of equality of man. From the philosophy that taught that the world was for all, but not for any individual, parliamentarism was not a very far cry. That Japan has gone through the process of modernization in a period of 60 or 70 years is something in the nature of mutual development and growth. There is nothing unnatural or artificial mimicry about the whole business.

So we went ahead and set up a new code of law, a new form of government, a new system of public education and reorganized military forces. So far as government could go there was nothing left but was changed or altered so as to take in the best of Western civilization and completely to modernize the country. Through the change thus wrought we hoped that the countries in Europe and America would reevaluate

us and give us a position which we should legitimately have in international relations.

And what did the world give us for our asking?

Even Japan's friends in Europe and America regarded our change as something too radical, warning that we could never discard our own history with impunity. Those who held all Orientals in abhorrence frowned upon the whole procedure as a case of a barbarian nation aping civilized peoples; and they believed that China that guarded her own civilization maintained her political power. China herself contemptuously thought that we, having been dazzled by the glamor of Western civilization, had renounced our own national heritage, and feasted under the sword of Damocles. While Japan was wholly taken up with changes in internal administration, China showed almost as much ardor in strengthening her army and navy. That China by her armament expansion meant to overpower her neighbor was made plain enough through the demonstration she had on occasion made of her fighting equipment. Under these circumstances, Japan's answer had to be an expansion of her fighting mechanism. In those days China had two iron-clads, "Tingyuan" and "Chenyuan," each of 7,500 tons, the most formidable in the Far East. These ships, with a dozen of other vessels, formed a fleet of respectable force. Japan's fleet was far inferior. But she had to accept the challenge. In 1894 she sent troops over to Korea to meet the advancing forces of China, and there followed the war.

Chinese Victory Predicted

People in Europe and America mostly believed that China would win. Their diplomacy was naturally directed with due regard to the side more likely to be successful. The balance of world sympathy tilted on the side of China. Contrary to their expectation, however, the pigmy Japan was victorious over the giant China. The most formidable fleet in the Far East had been annihilated. On land the Japanese soldiers had advanced almost within sight of Peking. Even where Japan's fleet had to wrest victory against heavy odds the law of nations had been observed to the letter. The Japanese soldiers had fought and conducted themselves, on land displaying such a spirit and discipline as if resolved to reproduce in those brief months all the noble deeds and gallantry for which their ancient warriors had made their names on the field when fighting was long and often. Of all these things Japan was proud.

World opinion, however, was interested in those issues which had caused the war or the way they had developed far less than in the unexpectedly great measure of Japanese military success. France, Germany and Russia had one mind and proposed, by inducing Britain to move likewise, to force Japan back to her proper place and wrest the prize of war from her hand. Britain was at first diffident and her attitude indecisive; but ere long the wisdom of true statesmanship prevailed in the Liberal Ministry. She remained out-

side of this international brigandage. Because of the intervention of these three powers Japan had to surrender her claim to the Liaotung Peninsula, which was one of the prizes won by treaty from the vanquished China. Now in no time Russia had her influence extended and established all over Manchuria, not of course, excluding the Liaotung Peninsula. Germany deprived China of the Bay of Kiaochow.

Japan's aspiration for modern civilization had amounted to a passion. She had turned with all her might to the task of modernizing herself. Nothing had been remoter from our minds than the thought of carving our career with military force. The thought always closest to our hearts had been to win our place in the family of civilized nations, neither below nor above that, just that. But European countries had shown their regard more to the arms of China who had failed to become, and detested to become a modern state. When Japan whom those countries had held in contempt had got the better of China they proposed to check Japan and rob her of the prize of war. Japan, having no military strength to oppose the intervention of those countries, bowed to their will, with a grin, instead of an expression of rightful resentment.

In this hour of humiliation Japan learned that people of Europe had really less regard for peaceful civilization than for the display of armed strength without which they would make no true estimation of our position. We awoke in the same hour to the necessity of expanding our Army and Navy. It was, in fact, the

most tremendous lesson that we had learned from Europe during the period of 40 years following the opening of the country.

XI

Powers Seen in Their True Colours

in North China

IN the year 1897 the Boxer Rebellion broke out at many places in North China, Peking and Tientsin becoming the centers of the disturbance. The Imperial court and Government of Peking were drawn into the imbroglio. The foreign legations at Peking were besieged; and there were no means of rescue or communication. Whereupon the diplomatic representatives in Tokyo met in council and requested Japan, because of her geographical proximity to China and her facilities for military expedition, to dispatch adequate forces for rescue. Japan sent over a large military force and, in concert with the other countries, helped out the besieged parties. The military forces participating in the same undertaking were as follows:—

	Number of men	Pieces of Artillery	
Japan	10,000	54	
Russia	4,000	16	
Great Britain	3,000	12	25
United States	2,000	6	
France	800	12	
Germany	20		

Japan's Claims

Moving with the forces of the other countries, the Japanese troops proceeded from Tientsin, suppressing the Chinese soldiers as they went, until they finally entered the city of Peking to bring relief to the diplomats and their families on the verge of death. When the trouble was over the countries met to open negotiations with China for indemnities and liquidation of the whole business. Japan was the first to rise and set her claim at ¥50 million. The representatives of the other countries, followed to present their demands. The figures presented for indemnification on the same occasion, converted into the terms of our currency, were as follows.

15	Russia.....	¥ 180,000,000
	Germany.....	130,000,000
	France.....	100,000,000
	Great Britain	70,000,000
	Japan	50,000,000
20	United States.....	45,000,000
	Italy.....	38,000,000
	Belgium	12,000,000

Compare these amounts of indemnity with the numbers of soldiers and guns given above. Japan who had sent over 10,000 men and 54 pieces of artillery asked only ¥50 million, while Russia, who had brought forth only 4000 men and 16 field pieces demanded ¥180 million, Germany of 800 men and 12 guns and France of 200 men and 12 guns respectively claimed

¥130 million and ¥100 million. But the world was not shocked to see how exacting, relentless and grasping were European countries in their claims. World opinion seemed, if anything, to feel sorry for the Japanese who knew not enough to have asked for more.

Role in Far East

At the time Japan played the role of a policeman for the civilization of the Far East. But for Japan the diplomatic corps and their families at Peking would have been all killed. Once having tasted blood, the frenzied beasts would have spread terror to Tientsin, Shanghai, Amoy, Foochow, and Nanking, killing all foreigners in those places. The rebellion would thus have heralded an uprising of all the colored peoples of the whole Asia. Things took another course because Japan had assumed the leadership and dispatched armed forces of respectable strength, to present a united front with the other countries. It happened, however, that while Japan was thus putting forth strong efforts, without a particle of selfish thought, but in the cause of humanity, Russia evincing no interest in the peace around Peking, stationed the bulk of her military forces in Manchuria where there was neither trouble nor any likelihood of trouble being caused. When the other countries had withdrawn their troops from China, Russia was not only unwilling to withdraw hers from Manchuria but even reinforced them. Despite what she had repeatedly declared assuringly to the world, she

proceeded virtually to take possession of Manchuria, and next, to disclose her design upon Korea.

XII

Japan's Service in the World's Cause

WHEN the coronation of Tzar Nicholas took place in May 1896 and a galaxy of foreign representatives came to offer their congratulations, Russia began to become even more self-important than before. Her ebullient energy was displayed on all sides of her borders. In view of these ominous signs Great Britain, in consideration of the integrity of India and her prestige in the Far East, and Japan, because of her desire to check the Far Eastern penetration of Russia, and the both countries in consideration of the interests in common, concluded an alliance on January 30, 1902.

Russia, as generally expected, had established a complete control over Manchuria, a result of the secret offensive and defensive alliance concluded with China. Now Port Arthur was reconstructed and converted into a naval port. Russia's advance was next directed to the peninsula of Korea. A Russian domination in the peninsula would have been tantamount to pointing a dagger at the heart of Japan. Japan was driven to her final decision. There followed the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 the outcome of which is but too well known. A modern version of the David-Goliath contest. The world applauded. But as a matter of fact, this war was pregnant with too far reaching signifi-

cances to be dismissed, as it was, with mere cheers for Japan's bravery and military talents. Had Russia been successful, had Japan been driven back within her main island to remain as a third-rate nation, had Manchuria and Korea been added to the Tzar's domain, and had the Russian Minister at Peking become accessible to the dragon throne as if he had been regent, it would have been that a medieval state had vanquished a modern state, the victory of barbarism over civilization.

Dangerous Situation

Flushed by their success in the East, the Cossacks might have followed a war path into Europe. The border line of Germany might have been reformed. India might have been dictated terms from Moscow. The Straits of Bosphorus might have passed to the control of the Tzar's Government. In any case, the map of the world would have been other than what it was. The world had been on a great turning point. The great swing about to be set in motion was checked by Japan; and thus the civilization of the world remained unchanged. Japan's exploit may be compared to the battle of Salamis, where the civilization of ancient Greek, on the verge of destruction, was saved by Themistocles' victory over the powerful forces of the Persian King. The battle of Mukden was as important as the battle of Salamis. Japan had fought not only for her own existence but also for the case of humanity, for the conservation of the modern civiliza-

tion. Japan believed that she had well won the gratitude of the world.

And how was she rewarded?

The world had always known Japan as a country of toy soldiers, of a pigmy navy, of cherry blossom and Mt. Fuji, of lacquered ware and big fans, a country where women walked with a clattering noise under their wooden footwear. But now that this country had defeated one of the most powerful countries in the world, all countries were too astonished at our military prowess to think what sort of civilization we had, or for what cause we had fought, or what effects our military success would have on the civilization of the world. This astonishment gave birth to a crop of wild conjectures. Among these voices some accused the Japanese being a warlike people. Kaiser Wilhelm's theory of the yellow peril gained instant currency. Some others turned and pointed out certain colored people who had formerly remained in complete submission under European or American rule but now occasionally moved against the ruling hands, and attributed their recalcitrant mood to the fact that Japan, victorious over one of the most powerful countries in Europe, had transported thousands of prisoners of war to Tokyo to prove to the millions of the world the inferiority of the white people. Japan now became a target on which were directed numberless shafts of world criticism.

Japan had devoutly started out to seek the modern civilization. She had striven to live true to the

modern civilization. She had fought in the cause of the modern civilization, saving it from under the crushing feet of the northern barbarism. Japan had fought for the civilization with the fearlessness as of a lion. In consequence of all these things done, she was pictured and catalogued as something little higher than the ape in the world scale.

XIII

Japan in the World War

AS things thus went on the World War took place.¹⁰ Japan, geographically far removed from the theater of fighting in Europe, had no direct interest to consider. But because she wished to maintain the peace and civilization of the world, and because she could not remain indifferent to the struggle in which her ally¹⁵ the United Kingdom was involved, she took up the cause of the Allies. The Germans were swept away from Kiaochou Bay which they had taken from China, and the base of their disturbing activity in the Far East destroyed. Our men of war went forth to patrol²⁰ the Far Eastern and South Seas, preserving the peace throughout all those parts of the world. Our war vessels were sent out as far as the South American waters in one direction and the Mediterranean in another. But the Navy has given out no information in detail either at the Diet or through the press as to the active participation of our warships in the World War.²⁵

Consequently, very few among not only foreign but

even our own people know anything about it. According to what the present writer has been able to gather through his inquiry into the official naval records, the parts played by our navy in the war may be outlined⁵ as follows.

Cruise Indian Waters

At the request of the United Kingdom, the cruisers "Ibuki" and "Satsuma" went out to the Indian and southern seas, and maneuvered in collaboration¹⁰ with British warships until the German raider "Emden" was sent down. These vessels then convoyed transports conveying the expeditionary forces from Australia to the western front. The battle-cruiser "Kongo" and the cruisers "Asama" and "Izumo" were sent out to¹⁵ the South American seas in pursuit of Admiral Spee's squadron.

1915—16:

The cruisers "Tone" and "Tsushima" were charged to patrol the waters between Australia and Aden, of²⁰ Arabia. The cruisers "Niitaka" and "Akashi," accompanied by the 11th destroyer flotilla consisting of "Matsu," "Sugi," "Kashiwa," and "Sakaki," were dispatched to patrol the seas of Malacca and the sea of the Sulu Islands.

²⁵ 1917:

The cruiser "Akashi" and the 10th and 11th flotillas, comprising eight destroyers, were commissioned to proceed to the Mediterranean. These vessels under the flag of the rising sun, actively serving in this

theater of naval war, where the German submarines were most rampant and successful, earned, as few others did, the confidence of the minor countries fighting on the side of the Allies, bringing to them relief and reassurance in their darkest hours. During operations in this sea the destroyer "Sakaki" was assailed by a German submarine and her fore part was lost, the captain and a number of officers and men perishing. In another direction the cruiser "Chikuma" and "Hirato" were at the same time patrolling the seas of Australia and New Zealand, and the cruisers "Tone" and "Izumo" patrolled the seas of Celebes and South China to prevent the flight of German merchantmen interned. In addition, a squadron consisting of the five cruisers "Suma," "Yahagi," "Azuma," "Nisshin," "Kasuga," and the 2nd flotilla of four destroyers were engaged in guarding the seas of Singapore and Celebes.

At Singapore

1918:

The four cruisers "Kasuga," "Yakumo," "Suma," "Yodo" and the 6th flotilla of 4 destroyers were charged to guard the seas in the direction of Singapore. The two cruisers "Yahagi" and "Chikuma" were sent forth to patrol the coast of Australia. At the same time cruiser "Tsushima" was under orders to patrol the sea around the Cape of Good Hope. The cruiser "Izumo" and the 15th flotilla of 4 destroyers were dispatched to the Mediterranean to join the cruiser "Akashi" and the 10th and 11th flotil-

las, which had been serving, since some time ago in the same waters. Through this arrangement there were in those days two cruisers and a dozen of destroyers under the Japanese flag actively operating in the Mediterranean. The Navy was then requested by the British Government to loan capital ships and naval personnel. Being unable to comply with this request, it was arranged as an alternative to send out our naval officers and men to man the British vessels, which under the Japanese flag and names actively engaged in naval action, as stated below.

(1) Two British trawlers were converted to cruisers and manned by Japanese officers and men, and proceeded to serve in the Mediterranean under the temporary names of "Tokyo" and "Saikyo." (2) Two British destroyers in charge of Japanese complements, flying the flag of the rising sun and known as "Sendan" and "Kanran," served in the Mediterranean. It will have been seen how the Japanese Navy was in the war a force for Germany to reckon with and for the Allies to rely upon for loyal collaboration.

Gold Transported

It must also be added that in 1916 and again 1917 the Japanese men of war, as mentioned below, undertook on behalf of the British Government to transport from Vladivostock to Canada gold bullions of British property to the value of £56 million.

1st shipment by "Tokiwa" and "Chitose."
2nd shipment by "Nisshin" and "Kasuga."

3rd shipment by "Satsuma," "Nisshin," "Izumo,"
and "Iwate."

4th shipment by "Tokiwa" and "Yakumo."

The above gold had been received by the Bank of England from the Russian Government in payment ⁵ for the arms and munitions sold.

Furthermore, at the request of the French Government Japan built a dozen destroyers under wartime arrangements. These boats in charge of Japanese officers and men were navigated as far as Port Said, ¹⁰ where they were duly delivered to the French Navy. It must also be noted that during the World War the Allies and other countries availed themselves of Japanese mercantile marine under charter, as follows:

Countries:	Number of vessels	Gross Tonnage	¹⁵
United Kingdom	57	180,000	
France	31	100,000	
Italy	14	60,000	
United States	56	260,000	²⁰
Siam	3	3,000	
China	16	40,000	
Czechoslovakia	6	40,000	

We Japanese people are no more invulnerable to criticism than any other people, our shortcomings being not few. Nevertheless, it is characteristic of our national traits that we are loyal to our friends and strive to reciprocate their friendly confidence by rising above considerations of loss or gain, and that we are always second to none in our solicitude for an effort ³⁰ to conserve the civilization of the world.

XIV

Japan For A New Alliance

SINCE the opening of the country in the first year of Ansei (1854), Japan's sole and unchanged aspiration had been to attain an equality with the world nations. Neither had she looked up higher nor would ⁵ she have sought lower. To make such achievements possible it was thought necessary to reform the old order of civilization and modernize the state to adapt it to a new order of civilization. Our course was unswervingly directed in pursuit of these objects in ¹⁰ view. All our effort was bent to the matters of internal administration, the national defense having been relegated to a position of secondary consideration. Countries in Europe, failing to appreciate our effort or to comprehend its outcome, were disposed to court ¹⁵ the good-will of China who made light of Japan as a small nation, and, consequently, responsible to a degree for promotion of China's self-importance.

Under these circumstances, Japan was eventually compelled in 1894 to take up arms against odds in ²⁰ order to check China's advance into Korea. It was proved then that that which Tseng Chi-tse had self-styled as a sleeping lion as a gesture for, intimidating the world was no better than a sleeping badger, a beast reputed to have the predilection to pretend to be asleep ²⁵ where it would have to face an unpleasant situation otherwise. Again in 1904 Japan was compelled to take

the field against heavy odds, to prevent the southern advance of Russia. It was then proved to the world that the greatest colossus in the world had been standing only on his feet of clay. In neither case was Japan moved by any thought of aggression. She had to wage these two wars of modern times for no other reason but that she had been compelled so to do. In spite of all this, nevertheless, we were accused of being a warlike nation.

Withdrawn From League

The upshot of the situation was that the powers in concert at the Washington Conference deprived Japan of what she had acquired by legitimate means, and, next, at Geneva the stage was so set that Japan had no choice but to withdraw from the League of Nations.

Japan has fought for the civilization like a noble lion; and she has now been pictured in the humiliating form as of an ape. It is not to be denied, though nobody would care to speak of it, that at the root of all these things there is a racial bias. The white people since around the 17th and 18th centuries had betaken themselves to all parts of the world, and toward the colored peoples displayed their superiority complex without reserve or fear of being challenged. From the world of colored population the Japanese emerged and proved by their successes in arms and letters that the white people's domain was not to be absolute or limitless.

As an upstart people, we had fallen out of favor with the world powers. From this moment all trouble began. Do we resent this racial bias, it may be asked. I can positively answer, No. Our national minds can soar above such sentiment. We as a rule resent to be slighted when we are so done by one to whom we feel ourselves inferior. If some one were to declare the fine arts of Japan as something quite unworthy of attention, we should not be wroth with him, for his ignorance merits only compassion. By the same token, if some one were to assert that the natural sights in Japan were repulsively filthy or puny, we should certainly know better than wrathfully take him to task. He should only be pitied for lack of taste. Likewise, with regard to racial prejudices, which are in Europe and America general and frequent, being not uncommon even among the more enlightened minds, we admittedly feel unpleasant but not provoked to indignation: we feel simply sorry for the minds so narrow.

Contempt For Coloured Races

As the white people are as a general rule moved by their characteristic bent of mind in looking down upon the coloured races so they are likewise moved in regarding one another. When the world war had gone about half-way there were versions current to the effect that France and Italy, completely exhausted, would independently make peace with Germany. One day in a hotel dining room in Shanghai a Britisher, coming upon a newspaper carrying news to the same effect,

suddenly stood up and surprised the company by exclaiming that the hybrids of France and Italy could make peace and be hanged, because the Anglo-Saxons alone would see the whole business through. The man had the idea that the Anglo-Saxons were the only people of pure blood and that the French and Italians were of promiscuous blood. This instance is well illustrative how strongly racial prejudices are engrained in the minds of the white people.

Man has conducted himself by instinct since tens of thousands of years ago. The pigeon, without any training, can fly back home over many miles by its instinctive orientation, the dog travels miles of unknown roads to return to its master's house, and when deer are migrating in mass they instinctively form a ring around the females and youngsters for protection. All animals move by instinct. In the case of mankind only, the superior types developed in time began to use their minds and in the course of hundreds of centuries attained the power of reasoning by which instinct was rectified or refined, enabling man to conduct himself by reason. This was the beginning of civilization. Man at first moved by the instinctive thought of befriending those of his own village and looking askance at those of other villages. Civilization gave birth to that attitude of mind by which man began to befriend inhabitants of villages other than his own. Even after man had advanced from tribal village to state building the inhabitants of one state, when brought in contact for the first time with those of another, their instinc-

tive thought of mistrusting and antagonism at once awoke in their minds until their equanimity of mind was restored through reasoning. History has commonly followed this course.

Past Relations

Japan in ancient times, as history tells, was open to intercourse with China, Korea and all other peoples, showing her readiness to take in their civilization. Our people received with open arms those from other lands, gave them specially marked off areas to colonize, appointed their chiefs, if talented, to important positions in the central government so as to give them opportunity to turn their accomplishments to good account. Some of those of foreign origin were given supreme command of military forces. This mental attitude has remained quite unchanged down to modern times. We have always taken in higher scholastic attainments from other countries, we have avidly sought greater wisdom, we have adopted better customs and followed nobler characters wherever we found them, proving ourselves above any consideration of racial differences. We are a people of very high self-respect: but we believe that our paying homage to what is higher or better in others is not only compatible but even consonant with our self-respect. Taking as we do an attitude of mind so free, broad, generous and adoptive, the white man's racial prejudice against the colored races appears provocative of not so much indignation as scorn.

If our minds had been of as small stature as our

physique, we could not have taken the matter with equanimity. If indignant we should have ere long considered some ways of retaliation. Were the Japanese to cast all their discretion to the winds and swing their minds back to that unrefined instinct by which our primitive ancestors moved there would be no dearth of retaliatory means. Some might advocate the idea of rallying all the Far Eastern peoples to one standard and pit the combination against Europe and America. Some might conceive the idea of marshalling all the colored races against the white. But under no circumstances in reality would the Japanese people conceive or attempt anything of the sort. For such venture would mean a complete subversion of all human life, a return to primitive barbarism. The Japanese people would only be destroying that civilization which they have built by their work and study through 25 centuries, the destruction of their ownelves.

We are not to descend so as to be wroth with those who can not understand us. We shall be patient and persevering until justice will be done to us. We shall work to restore civilization and strive to maintain peace.

But how will civilization be restored and peace maintained?

Seeking Peace

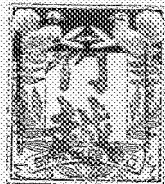
This is no longer the time to bring together scores of nationals whose interests are at conflict and whose political thoughts are contradictory, and give ample

scope to eloquence and rhetoric for their edification. This is the time to bring together in council a few nations, two or three, whose interests are of affinity, and whose political thoughts are not widely divergent, and let them combine and cooperate. It may be expected that Japan will some day form a new alliance with the object of maintaining the peace and civilization of the world.

There has of late been noted growing assiduous efforts on the part of Europe and America to understand our country. Nevertheless they seem to leave many grounds unexplored. When they learned of the assassination of Premier Inukai, and when they saw the military incident of last February 26, and when they observed a number of changes taking place in the meantime, they seemed to have concluded that Japan, having lost sight of its center of government, had sunk into anarchy, and had been bereft of any sense or wisdom to guide her statecraft. But this was far from being true. Sense and judgment had always been there to guide the people of the country. Why was it that he who might have been a Boulanger of Japan had abandoned his cause without having gone to full lengths to stir up the soldiery into greater action? It was because he could not move in the face of the sense and judgment of the nation. The Japanese people may not inaptly be compared to a deep sea, where though the surface is tossed and upheaved the under-current ever remains undisturbed and serene. Sound sense and judgment form Japan's undercurrent.

The same sense and judgment are now moving to choose and decide with which nations we should ally for the purpose of restoring civilization and maintaining the peace of the world.

(End)



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MADE IN JAPAN

竹越與三郎著

日本の自畫像

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日本の自畫像

日本に就ての誤解

人は往々にして稱揚せられて却てクスグツたき思を爲し、攻撃せられ、排斥せられたとき、始めて自から誇榮を感じることがある。國際上に於ける日本の位置はそれである。

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嘉永六年(千八百五十三年)アメリカの使節ペリーが、日本に來りて戸を叩き、日本が本意ならずも、列國に向つて國を開らきし以來、四五十年にして日本の形勢は全く一變して、近世國家となつた。歐洲各國が封建時代の舊衣を脱して近世國家となるには、長きは三百年、短きも二百餘年を要したるに比して、日本が此の短かき歲月の間に、異常巨大の變革を遂げたことは、甚しく歐米の學者政治家を驚愕せしめた。そして、此の驚異は多くの批評を生み出した。その批評は日本に同情するものと、之を嫌惡するものとの兩様であることは自然の勢であるが、日本に同情するものにせよ、日本に反對するものにせよ、日本を正しく領解せざることは同一である。日本人

は是等兩様の批評を見て、數十年の苦笑を重ねて來た。

今より十數年前、本野子爵が大使としてフランスに駐在した時である。或る日進化學者で、群衆心理説の唱道者であるギユースターブ・ルボンと會談したとき、彼は一の疑問を本野子に提出した。彼の説によれば日本が東洋の偏隅から起つて、短日月の間に世界の大國となつたやうなことは、世界の歴史に於て、未だ曾て聞見せざるところである。それは恰かも彗星の現出したるに似て居る。彗星の燦然耀然たる光彩は、地上の人を驚かすが、やがてそれは地平線の彼方に没し去らねばならぬ運命を持つてゐると同じく、日本は短日月の間に躍然として偉大なる勢力を示しても、それはやがて消え去らねばならぬ運命を持つてゐるのではあるまいか。蓋し日本の如く五十年の間に、偉大なる勢力を張ることは、進化の法則に於て許るさざるところであるといふのである。本野氏は之に答へて、日本は四五十年にして大國民となつたのではない。二千五百年間歩一歩と踏み固めて、今日の文明を築造したのであるといつた。ルボンは更らに、君は二千五百年の歴史と言ふ。余は二三の日本歴史を讀んだが、それは封建大名の戦争と宮中の陰謀の歴史に他ならぬ。若し日本自からその文明史を有すといふならば、君自から之を著述しては如何と勧告したことがある。本野子はフランスから本國に歸り余にこの事を語り、歐洲に於ては誠者ですら、

日本を解し得ざる此の如くである。かゝる疑問を解くべく、日本歴史を著述しては如何と、余に勧告したのであつた。余が此疑問に答ふべく著作したのは日本經濟史であつた。

世間、國際の形勢に注目する識者であつても、日本に對して正當なる解釋を爲し得ぬこと、ルボンの如き人は少なくはない。總べての誤解の本は日本がペリーに迫られて開國する以前は、東洋の隱者國であつたとなし、隱者國は文明もなく、藝術もなく、哲學もなくその歴史は世界歴史と全然懸け離れたる特異の歴史であり、その國民は封建大名の心のまゝに、進退座作したものであると信ずるからである。かゝる國民が四五十年の間に、躍然として世界の中心に進出するのは不思議であるといふ。その結果として、或るものは之を疑つて、日本の近代化は皮膚一枚の假粧のみとなし、一枚の皮をむけば、依然たる封建日本であるとする。或るものはその發達は不自然であり、摸倣であるが故に、やがて挫折する時が来るであらうといふ。或るものは一種の妖怪的存在であるとなし、やがてそれが支那といふ黃龍に乗つて、世界を襲撃し、ジンギスカンのことを行ふであらうと言ふ。或るものは日本人を以て古代ギリシヤ人の如く、武勇を尊んで詩歌的生活を送る國民であるといふ。何れにしても多くの誤解の本は日本を知らぬからである。そしてまた日本人の中にも、古典や神話を勝手に綴り合せて、一種の夢幻的の日本を畫き出し之を眞日本

なりと爲し世界の他の國に對する日本の特異性を高調し、此夢幻の日本に合せざる近世思想、近代生活を一切外來物なりとして排斥する狂信家あるが爲めに、日本に對する外國の誤解は益々深まる。

日本史は世界史の一部分

日本はペリーに戸を叩かれて國を開く前に於てすら、決して全く世界と異なる發達をして來たものではなかつた。二千餘年の前から、歐洲人の考ふるが如くに思考し、歐洲人が苦悶せるが如くに苦悶し、歐洲人が楽しんで如くに楽しんで來た。日本人の歴史は歐洲の歴史と全然懸け離れたものでなく、日本の歴史は世界史の一部分である。日本が世界の強國となつたのは、四五十年間の事業ではなく、歐洲に於ける最も古き歴史ある國民と、同一の過程を経歷しての結果である。

歐洲の何れの國民の歴史を見ても最初は奴隸を主要なる材料とする經濟組織を有するのが、共通の現象であつて、之を名づけて奴隸經濟時代といふ。歐洲の奴隸經濟時代はローマのスパルタカス戰爭時代などを中心として、その前後に盛衰はあつたが、英國の如きは第十三世紀頃のノルマン、コンケスト時代から段々奴隸が減少し久しからずして奴隸經濟時代は去つて、土地經濟時代となつた。日本も亦之と同じく歴史の初頭から奴隸經濟であつた。大寶令時代（西曆八世紀の

初頭）に公布せられたる法令に於て、公民を分ちて三級となし、初級の民は財産三十貫文以上を所有せざる可らず、第三級の民は財産一貫文以上を所有せざる可らずと規定したが、其財産は必しも通貨に限らず、米若くは奴隸を以て、之に換算することが出來た。而して奴隸一人の賣買價額は、六百文内外であつたから、奴隸一人半を有する者は、公民として存在することが出來たのである。唯だ日本の奴隸制度の運用は歐洲のそれよりは寛仁であつて、奴隸が老年に及んで勞働に堪えざるとき、若くは特別の藝能を有するとき、若くは主人がその才を憐んで、特に之を愛するとき、之を放つて自由の民とすることが多いので、漸次にその數が減少し、奈良朝の中頃に於ては、奴隸の數は全人口の一割半位であつたらしい。之は奈良の正倉院に保存せられたる戸籍殘編を基礎としての推測である。イギリスは之より後ること四百年ほどの十二、三世紀のノルマン、コンケスト時代に於ては、奴隸の數は全人口の一割に減少したといふことは、イギリスの歴史家の言ふところであるが、その事情はイギリスと日本と略ぼ同様である。

歐洲に於て奴隸經濟時代の次に來つたものは、土地經濟時代であるが、日本も亦同一の現象を來たした。奴隸經濟時代に於ては、人口が少なく土地は餘りあつて、そして耕作勞力が乏しいので、總ての人が望む所は、此勞力を得んとすることであつた。その必要から奴隸が生れ、賣買せ

られ、掠奪せられた。然るに此數百年の間に於て人口が自然に増加して、至る所の土地が耕作せられた。そこで已に耕作せられたる「土地」に、支配權を及ぼして、之から收入を取ることが豪族の間の通有の希望となつた。此希望から歐洲に於ては、マノールハウスの發生となつたが日本に於ては、マノールランドと同じ性質の莊園(即ち別莊地の意)といふものが起つた。此の時代は多くの土地を取り、それからの收入を計ることを主としたので、之を土地經濟時代といふのである。そしてその發生の方法に於ても、發生の時期に於ても、繼續時間に於ても、日本の莊園と、歐洲のマノールハウスとの間に共通する所がある。

土地經濟から如何にして貨幣經濟時代に移つたか、歐洲のマノールランドに於ても、日本の莊園に於ても、そこに一種の中心が出来て商業が起り、工藝が生れた。此商工業に伴ふて貨幣の必要が起り、一切の人事は、貨幣によりて清算せらるゝ事になつて、茲に貨幣經濟時代が起つたが、貨幣經濟時代の產物として、諸種の經濟的機構が生れて來た。その中最も注目すべきものはギルドであるが、歐洲に於てギルドの發生の本原は神に仕ふる人々の間から起つたものであり、後來それが産業政治等にも擴張せられ、十二世紀頃から純然たる經濟上の機構となつたものである。然るに日本に於てもまたギルドが、同じく神に仕ふる人々の間から起つたのである。最も明白に

記録せられたものでは、源平時代に於て京都に近き山崎神社の神官が、神に捧ぐる燈火に用ゆる胡麻の油につきて專賣の權利を要求した。そして此油が京都より八九十里を隔てたる播磨の地方に生産せられ、此處から海と山とを航して、山崎神社に送らるゝので、此河と海に於ける關稅をも免除せらるゝこととなつた。そして神官の家族が増加して、京都に移つて市民となつた後も、京都に於ける胡麻の油の專賣權は、是等の神官の家族の身に伴ふて發生した。日本では之を名づけて座といふのである。酒の醸造に用ふる糴の專賣權も、同じく小野宮の神官によりて要求せられ、同じ方法によりて京都に移住したる神官の家族の身に伴ふて、京都に於て糴の座が發生した。そして此座はその他の各種の産業に就ても發生し、足利時代から徳川時代(西暦十三世紀から十五世紀)まで、日本に於ける總ての經濟機構の中心となつた。そして各地の自治體の中心は、座であつたことは、歐洲の自治體の中心がギルドであつたと同一である。そして日本に於ける座は、大名の武權と、長き抗爭を續けて、或る時は敗北したが、あるときは勝つた。地質學者は我々に語つて世界各國を地質學より見れば、その地層は東西南北を通じて同一である。唯だ地殼の變動のために、各國の地層の間に不整合の所なきにあらざるも、大體に於ては共通であると言ふ。人類進歩の歴史にもまた地層があり、その地層は、世界列國共通であることは以上の如くである。

日本が歐洲に就て斷片的な智識を有するやうになつたのは、足利時代の季世(十三世紀)に於てポルトガル人や、スペイン人や、オランダ等の商人から道聽途說的に、その近事を聞き込みたるに始るが、眞實の意味に於ける日本と歐洲との交通は、安政五年(千八百五十八年)歐米と通商條約を締結した後の事である。かゝる状態の下に於て、如何にして二千餘年以前から、日本と歐洲とが同一の歴史的地層を有するのであるか、春になれば至る所に花がさく。夏になれば、穀物と果實が實のる。冬になれば、草木がその葉を地上に落し、樹液を根本に蓄へて明春の計をする。それは東西南北を通じて同一であるが如く、人類が本能と智識の命するところに従つて動くことは、アジア人も、歐洲人も、同じことであるからである。故に日本人の歴史は、即ち歐洲人の歴史である。畢竟各國の歴史は世界史の一部に他ならぬ。日本を知らうとするものは、先づ此事を念頭に置かねばならぬ。

外國を正解する日本人

自己に同じきものを愛し、自己に異なるものを疎んずるのは動物の本能である。人類が他の動物より優秀にして且進歩する所以は、その同と異を形態に求めずして、その心に求むる一點である。その心に於て共通する所を求むれば同情、親善、理解茲に生じて四海一家となるのである。

皮膚の色彩や、言語の構造や、文字の形體や、衣服家居の様式などに拘泥して、互に相疎隔するは道路にある人々の爲す所である。日本が嘉永安政の際米國及び歐洲各國と通商和親を開始せんとするや、同を愛して異を疎んずるの心から、一切の外國人を野蠻人と號し、野蠻人と交通するのは國民の恥辱で、且つ危険であるといふ説が、盛に唱道せられた。道路の人は之に尾緒をつけて種々の風説を散布し、開國すべきか鎖國すべきかの議論が、至る所に闘はされた。當時京都の朝廷に於ても、此事については數ば討論せられたが、當時三十年間、政柄を握つて居つた關白鷹司政通は鎖國論を排して開國論を唱道した。彼の説によれば、我國已に支那と交通しヲランダと通商すること三百餘年である。今アメリカ、フランス、ドイツ、イギリスと交通するも寸毫も變化あるわけではない。唯二個の外國を六個とするのみである。宜しく速かに交通を開始すべしといふのであつた。然るに茲に鎖國論を煽揚し、その勢に乗じて、開國政策の責任者たる徳川將軍の幕府を倒し、政權を朝廷に回復すべしとの計畫が生れて來たので、朝廷の貴族は殆んど之に同意し、鎖國論は數年の間全國を支配したが、徳川將軍の幕府が倒れた後は、數日にして鎖國論が閉息して、開國政策が決定的國論となつたのみでなく、堤防を決して海水を引き入るゝが如く、歐洲文明を採取するに至つた。日本國民が言語、風貌、家居、衣服によりて歐米人を異類として

排斥せんとしたのは、僅か數年間の事であつて、その後は同類として、親睦し、同情し、諒解し、好愛するに至つた。

今日に於ては日本人ほど外國を知り、その長を取り、美を取るに熱心なる國民は、全世界の何れにも見出すことは出來ぬ。日本には外國語を語るに巧妙な人は少ない。然しながらイギリス人よりも、より能く英國の歴史を解し、フランス人よりも、よりよくフランス文學を解する人は少なくない。日本に於ては中央放送局から毎朝三十分間、放送によつて英語かドイツ語を教授する、高等學校以上の學校に於ては、英語を第一外國語とし、その他の外國語の中、必ず一種は學習せねばならぬ。中學校に於ては國文學の外に英語を教授する。故に文部省年報によりて、過去三十四年の間の學校教育の結果を積算すれば、英語を知るものは、已に五百萬人以上に達してゐる。日本本土の人口は六千四百五十萬人であるから、外國語を知るものは約八九分に達する勘定である。自國語以外に外國語を學習すること、此の如くに熱心なる國民は、果して世界の何處に求むることが出来るであらうか。そしてそれはイギリス人が大陸に旅行するがために、フランス語を學び、若くはフランス人がイギリスに旅行せんがためにイギリス語を學ぶといふやうな簡單、卑近、手

近の日用語の修得のためではなく、その書籍、雜誌によりて、外國文明を吸收せんとするためである。

日本人が外國の文明に對する欲求が、以上の如くに熱切であるのを見て、日本固有の文明の貧弱なるがために、渴するものが水を求むるが如くに、外國の文明を追求するものであると信ずるものあらば、それは速了の見である。日本人は歐洲の何れの國民よりも、早く已に種々の政治上や、經濟上や、社會上の經驗を積み、學問を生じ、歐洲と交通する以前に已に渾然たる一種の文明を鬱生してゐた。日本は大化時代(西暦六百五十年頃)に於て、農業には木鋏と、鐵鋏とを併用したが、七百年頃から、専ら鐵鋏を使用し、大寶時代(西暦七百一年)の文武天皇は右大臣阿部の御主人に緋五百匹、絹糸四百、絢布五百端、鋏一萬口を賜與したことがある。當時偏隅の地にあるものは、猶ほ未だ木鋏と鐵鋏とを併用したが、都市に近き大農は、専ら鐵鋏を使用したのである。そして西暦八百年頃の平安朝時代に於ては、木鋏は最早や見ることが出來なくなつた。然るに英國に於ては、第十世紀の頃迄、木鋏を使用したのである。日本國民は大寶時代(第七世紀の初頭に於て)に於て已に兩面の窠綾(スカシのあるアヤ)薔薇綾等の、高尚なる織物を製造した。貴族の屋上は、焼き瓦で蓋はれた。同時に於て、今日用ゆるが如き金色の漆が已に製出せられた。

砂金が已に商品となつて市場に出された。丈六の金銅佛を作るほどに、冶金の技工を有して居つた。日本は奈良朝に於て已に精密なる戸籍法を全國に施行したが、その殘編は今尚ほ奈良の正倉院に保存せられてある。當時日本の如き戸籍法は支那を除き、世界の何處にもなかつたのである。その支那さへも、皇帝の居住する都會以外には實行せられなかつたものである。

歐羅巴文明史の高峰の一として數へらるゝジャスチニヤンの法典はその公布せらるゝまで多くの歲月を要したが、その發布せられたるは西紀五百二十九年である。然るに日本に於ては大寶時代(西紀七百一年)に於てジャスチニヤンにも劣らぬ大寶令なる法典が公布せられた。それは政府の組織から社會の組織を規定し、各法に互る完全なる根本法典であつて、爾來一千二百年の間、時勢の變遷に會ふて、その或る部分は停止せられ變革せられたが、行政上の根本主義としては、明治十八年(千八百八十五年)伊藤公によつて内閣制度の確立せられた時迄勢力を持つたものである。此法典及び之に先だつ四十五年の大化元年の勅令によりて、日本は始めて一切の土地を國有として、社會機構の變革を部分的に實行し、日本歷史上に於ける最大の變革を試みたが、之を大化の革新といふのである。此法令によつて數百町歩の耕地を所有する貴族、豪族、及び數十町歩の耕地を所有する小農迄、悉く其土地は國家に沒收せられた。そして國家は全國の自由人民一人

に付男子は二段歩、女子は二段歩の三分の二の土地を耕作することを規定せられた。但し五才以下の子女には之を附與せず、奴隸の男女には、以上の規定の三分之一を授與することを規定し、自由人にはその受領したる耕地の面積に對して、一定の租米と、土地によつて規定せられたる製造品とを、皇室に納附することを定められた。此新奇なる改革は、一世紀の試験によつて全く失敗であつたことが證明せられ之より却つて莊園制度の現出を刺戟したが、莊園制度の下に於て、自から奴隸制度の滅亡を招來した。當時皇族及び之を圍繞する貴族の政治思想は、農民に對する豪族の專權を抑制して、皇室をして直ちに自由人民の上に立たしめんとする急進思想であつた。

日本と歐洲の類似

歐洲に於ては七百二十六年に東ローマ帝レオ・ゼ・イソーリヤンが偶像崇拜を禁じ、七百三十年には法王グレゴリーが東羅馬皇帝を破門して、宗教上のスタンダリゼーションが、非常の勢を以て進行したが、日本に於ては此頃は却つて宗教調和の時期であつて、佛教と神道とは混一するの端を開いた。即ち佛僧の行基なるものが宇宙の至上の力は一である。即ち佛教に於て信奉する最上の佛たる大日如來は、即ち神道が最も尊崇する天照皇大神であるとなし、宗教一元説を唱道したので、一百餘年の後には殆んど全く融和した。そして數百年の後、儒教も又此混合體中に竄入

し、神道、儒教、及び佛教は並び行はるる様になつた。斯くて日本人は、神道によつて過去を回顧して、祖國の矜持を有するようになり、佛教により未來の生活について心を用ひ、儒教により現在に處するの哲學を講じ、三者相集つて國民の心性を陶冶して一種の民族的性格をつくり上げた。神道の神主、佛道の僧侶、儒教の學者は互に相排斥抗爭すること、天主教とプロテスタンとと相争ふが如くに猛烈であるに拘はらず、國民は之を同時に包容すること、蜜蜂があらゆる花から露を吸収して蜜をつくるが如くに、イクレクチックの心性を以てそれから精英を攝取した。此三教は、之を論理的に推つむれば、併立すべからざるものがあるに拘はらず、日本國民が此三者を同時に取るのを見て、歐洲人は日本人の宗教觀は歐洲人の宗教觀と異なると批評する。此批評は事實に於て當つてゐる。併しながら同時に此選擇的な心性によりて、あらゆる方面のものを折衷するのが、日本文明の特色であることを忘れてはならぬ。

日本に於て莊園制度の起る以前に於て、一切の土地が、皇室即ち中央政府の所有となり、土地國有の主義が實行せられたことは、已に前項に於て説いた通りである。此時に於て國內の軍權は、また皇室に屬し、全國各地から壯丁を徵發して、軍隊を組織して居つた。然るに種々の事情から土地國有主義が破れて、貴族、官臣、豪族が競ふて土地を占有して莊園を起すに至つて、全國莊

園の面積は國有の土地の面積よりも多くなつた。その中には近衛氏は日向、薩摩、大隅の三州に亙る島津莊の所有者となつたほどに、莊園一個の面積も擴大するに従つて、莊園の性質もまた一變して來た。從來莊園は唯だ數個の連接したる耕地であつたが、時を経るに従つてその領主若くは莊司と稱する代官の住宅を中心とする政治的中心となり、やがて經濟的中心ともなつた。之と共に此莊園を管理し、防護するために、官吏及び兵卒を必要とするところより、莊園の中に武士の一類が發生した。總て是等の莊園の數十百を所有する源氏及び平氏などが非常なる勢力を振ふようになつた。國有の土地の多くは莊園となつて官臣、貴族、豪族の私有領地となつたので、朝廷は全國から壯丁を徵發して軍隊を組織することが出來ず、それゆゑに不逞の徒を征伐することは大莊園を有し、數多の武人を招集し得る源氏若くは平氏などの豪族に命するの他に方法がなかつた。源氏平氏の二族は、同じく莊園と武力を有する寺院と長い間抗爭戦闘したが、それは平安朝の中頃(西曆十一世紀)から二百年の長きに亙つた。是等の豪族は家長的心性を以て莊園の武士に臨み、朝夕接近を重ねるので、君臣の關係を生じ、臣子はその君上のためにあらゆる困苦を忍び、場合によつては之が爲に生命を捨てることは臣子の本分なりと信ぜられ、その事を實行したるものは英雄男子として尊敬せられ、そのことは又廣く傳誦せらるゝに至つた。やがて其後の時

代に至つて此道德は詩となり、歌となり、戯曲化せられ、親子は一世、夫婦は二世、君臣は三世といふ格言を生ずるに至つた。それは親子の關係は此世限りであるが、愛情を取り交す夫婦の關係は現世で盡きるものでなく、來世迄も延長する。併しながら君臣の關係に至りては之よりも更に深く、來世の次の來世迄繼續するといふ意義である。

此の長き戦闘時代の間に、戰場に於けるコード・ラブ・オノアが生れ、何人が制定するともなく、武士が戦ふに當りては、唯だ敵に勝つことのみが總てではない。勝つについても戦場の作法があるといふことが不文の憲律となつた。そして此憲律に背くものは卑怯者、未練者と毀られ、此毀評を受けることは死よりつらいものと感じられた。後醍醐天皇の近臣日野の阿若丸といふ少年が、父の仇を報ぜんがため、京都より遙々佐渡が島に渡り、一夜其仇敵佐渡の領主本間山城入道の館に潜入したが、此仇敵が安らかに眠るのを見て、睡眠者を殺すは卑怯なりといふ觀念から、枕を蹴つて彼の目を醒まし、その立上りしときに之を斬つた。かゝる風尚は戦場の作法と稱するコード・ラブ・オノアが、法令よりも強よく行はれた證據である。之はアレキサンダア王に、敵軍に夜襲をかける事を勧むるものゝあつたとき、王が之を却けて、余は勝利を取ることを望むが、勝利を窃むことはせぬと答へたのと異曲同工である。

玉や石の如きものを衝撃すれば火光を發するが如く、人と人との間の徳行を生むものは、之も亦攻戦といふ衝撃の結果に他ならぬ。かゝる攻戦の間に生じたる道德を後世に至りて、武士道といふのであるが、それは莊園時代(十世紀)の末から起り徳川時代の初期(十六世紀)に至りて完成したものである。そしてそれは初めに於て唯だ武士といふ一階級の間に限られたものであつたが、やがて戰場に於けるコード・ラブ・オノアは國民全體の日常の生活にも普及するに至つた。日本國民はその人種に固有する律義、信誼、正直、勇敢、克己から、已に農民の間には農民の道德を生じ、商人の間には商人の道德が生じて居つたので、これ等の道德は武士道と相抱和融合して、國民的道德を鬱生せしむるに至らしめたのである。

歐洲に於て略ぼ武士道と類似したるものをナイト・フード、若くはシヴァリーといふのであるが、それは十字軍時代に強化せられ、中世紀に於て最も咏嘆歌誦せられ、ナイト・フードを許すときは、その君主が軍刀を揮つて三たび其者の背を打つの禮を行ひ、此の禮の終りしものはその軍服の袖にコード・ラブ・アームスを附するものであるが、それには階段品級がある。我國の武士はその軍旗と衣服とに紋所を附けるのみで、紋所には階段品級はない。併しながら武士の一團の首領に陸奥守、若くは上野介、若くは大膳太夫と言ふが如き、已に政治に實權を失ふたる朝廷の

官職の虚名となりたるものを爵位として賜與することによつて階級品級を分つのである。ラスキンはシヴァリーを以て、馬と武具とその日の食料があれば満足するナイトによつて、永い間に組織せられたものであると言つたが、それは恰かも日本の武士道を論じたものゝやうに思はれる。此シヴァリーが近世に至つて一變して紳士道となつたのは、日本の武士道が擴充して國民道德となつたと同工異曲である。

日本に於ける自由貿易主義の發生

日本が十七世紀の初頭に於てオランダと通商貿易を開始する以前に於ては、支那が唯一の通商貿易の相手であつた。然るに日本が支那と貿易を行ふとき、それは政府から許可を與へられた或る團體によりて經營せられ、他に許可せられざる専有の事業であつた。右の貿易専有の團體は、伊勢の神社に關係ある法樂社、宮中にある貴族、京都の天龍寺、九州探題と稱する薩摩、豊後、周防の三侯、大和塔の峰神社が組織するものであつた。是は恰かも十五世紀に於て、スペイン、ポルトガルの天主教の團體が法皇から東洋貿易の特權を貰ひ、十七世紀に於て、オランダやイギリスなどに於て、東印度會社に對して東洋貿易一手販賣の權利を賦與せると同一の趣向であるが、日本の外國貿易の特許政策は十五世紀の初頭に於てなされ、歐洲のそれと略ぼ同時代である。

此時代に於て國內の商業も、座と稱するギルドの一種、及び座の連合する仲間と稱する團體が歴史的の由來と、官憲に對する納税によりて或る商業を専有し、他人が新たに開業して、舊來の商人と競争することを禁止して居つたから、内外の商業を通じて、特許専有主義で一貫して居つた。

歐洲に於ける自由貿易主義なるものは、主として國內に於ける會社團體の特許専有政策に反抗して起つたもので、千六百四十年頃英國に於て生じたものであるが、日本に於ては已に元龜天正の頃から自由貿易主義が起り、足利氏に代りて將軍となつた織田信長がそのチャンピオンであつた。彼が日本全國征服の事業は中途にして停止したが、彼の行く所、座と仲間の専有權が破壊せられ、何人とも自由に商業を開始する事が出來て座と仲間の壓搾を免れた。信長の弟子で、後に信長の事業を繼續して政權を掌握し、文祿元年朝鮮に對して遠征軍を派遣したる豊臣秀吉は、また信長と同じく自由通商のチャンピオンであつた。彼が日本全國の征服の事業を完成せんがために、天正十四年九州に入つたとき、彼は九州の中心である博多に於て「此處座あるべからず」といふ禁令を發して自由通商主義の旗幟を鮮明にした。彼の權力の下に於て商業がギルド商人やその聯合團體の壓搾專制を免るゝのみならず、至る所に樂津と稱する自由港、樂市と稱する自由市

が起り、封建君主の干渉と課税を免るゝ獨立の地域が現出した。是は商人が自由を要求するが爲ばかりでなく、商人に自由を與ふことが封建君主の領土を繁昌ならしむる所以であることが領解せられたから、その土地の領主が進んで之を許可したものである。秀吉が文祿元年（千五百九十二年）に朝鮮を征伐したのは、單に武功を耀かさんとする虚誇な目的のみではない。彼は明の朝廷が久しく日本との通商を謝絶して國を鎖ざしたのを憤り、武力によつて國を開かしめんとしたのであつた。彼より以前の日本と支那との貿易は、事實に於て貿易であつても、支那は之を貿易と稱することを拒絶し、日本が支那の朝廷に貢物を奉るといふ形式に於て、日本品を輸入する事を許るし、その所謂朝貢品に對して幾分の答謝をするといふ名義の下に、貿易品の代價を日本に支拂つたのである。故に當時は日本人は、支那貿易を「貢」と稱して居つた。然るに足利氏の初期（西暦千五百年）より日本の海賊が數百艘の船を聯ね、數千人隊を爲して連年、支那の海港を襲撃するに至つたので、支那は海賊を防ぐべく、全然日本船の「貢」を禁じた。之がため支那との貿易は全く杜絶してしまつた。信長、秀吉の時に至り、海賊が支那を侵略することは全く絶滅したが、それにも拘らず、支那は依然として日本商船が支那の港に入ることを禁じ、秀吉が天下を統一して後、彼が支那との通商交通を求めても支那は之に應じなかつた。是れ秀吉が途を朝鮮に

借りて、支那に入り、その門戸を開放せしめんとしたる所以である。是れ秀吉が平和會議の時、明朝に要求したる條目中に「貢」の一項目がある所以である。十六世紀の中頃からポルトガル、スペイン、ポーランドが、東洋に進出して商利を求め、艦隊の砲力によりてそのマーカーチリズムを貫ぬかんとしたことがあるが、秀吉の朝鮮征伐が、同じ時代に起り同じく武力によりて商利を取らんとしたるを見ても、日本人が識らず知らず、世界の他の側の人民と、同じ時代に同じ空氣を呼吸しつゝあつたことを見るべきである。

以上の如くにして自然に發生したる自由貿易主義は、徳川幕府の開創者となりたる家康によりて、日本政府の國策として最も鮮明に宣言せられた。それは元和二年（千六百六十年）安南貿易の特許を受けたる彌七郎に下したる左の特許狀に記されたものである。

「凡そ同易（交易）の事は有無を通じて以て人と己れとを利するなり、人を損して自らを益するに非ず、利を共にするものは、小と雖も却て大也、利を共にせざるものは大と雖も還て小也、所謂利は義の嘉會（よき出會）なるものなり、異域の我國に於ける風俗言語異なりと雖も、天賦の理（天の與ふる理性）未だ嘗て同じからざるはなし、その同を忘れず、その異なるを怪まず、

少しも欺慢する勿れ、且つ彼之を知らずと雖も、我れあに之を知らざらんや、信、豚魚に及び（我正しければ心、豚魚にも通すべし）機、海鰯を見る（我に禍心なくば鰯も近づく）思ふに天は偽を容さず、飲んで我國俗を辱しむべからず、（國の名折となるな）若し他の仁人君子を見れば、即ち父師の如くに之を敬し、以て其國の禁諱（法令の禁すること、爲してわるきこと）を問ひ、其國の風教に従へ」

千六百十五年は、歐洲に於て國內商業に關して或の特權を有する會社に對し、その利益の獨占を攻撃する聲として、自由商業が叫ばれたる年ではあるが、それは唯だ國內貿易に關することに止まる。然るに國際貿易は、與へて而して取るものであつて、有無相通する共存共榮でなければならぬことを闡明したる政府は、世界中に於て日本を以て最先とするのである。

外國人は日本の歴史を以て何れの國にもあるが如く、封建大名の戦争と宮中の陰謀の繰返しの記録であるが如くに信するものもあるが、その底には此の如き自由思想が勃興しつゝあつたのである。生活の變化に伴ふて、思想の變化が生じ、思想の變化から生活の變化も起る。それは或るものに於ては歐洲が先だち、或るものに於ては日本が先だつ。事により、物によりて前後があり、及び形態を異にするが、結局日本の歴史は世界史の一部分である。

日本と歐洲と喰ひ違ひの原因

近來日本に來訪したる歐米人は、日本の能狂言を聴聞して、その古典味の高雅なるを賞揚し、その金銀縫取の衣服の美麗なることに驚くものもあるが、誰もそれが歐米のオペラと姉妹の縁があることに氣のつくものはない。オペラはその端を印度に發し、流れて西方に赴きしものは、イタリーやフランスに入りてオペラとなつた。そして東方に移つたものは支那に入りて腔や元曲となり、十三世紀の末五山の僧徒が之を日本に移して謡曲としたものである。その歌謡を主として身振りを主とせず、聲を長くして感情を歌ふの點は、東西同一である。そして日本人がイタリーやドイツからオペラを日本に輸入するや、オペラと謡曲の姉妹は相分袖して以來六百年にして日本に於て再會したのである。將棋はその由來がベシルヤから起つたにせよ、エジプトから起つたにせよ、歐洲に於てはチェスとなり、日本に於ては將棋となり、多少の變化はあるが、その構造の大體は同一である。千八百五十八年日本が歐洲に向つて國を開いた後のことである。或るアメリカ人が、横濱―それはその頃一つの漁村で農家と漁夫の家が所々の林野を點綴したところの―の村はづれの途上で、農民がアメリカ人に野菜を賣つた時懷中より小さな、算盤を出して勘定をなし、腰に巻いたる帶から矢立―それは萬年筆の前身のものである―を取り出し、矢立の中か

ら小さき筆を取り出し懷中から帳面を出して之に書きとめたのを見て、一驚を喫した。奇異の風をしたる農民がかく迄教育せられて居り、そしてその算盤は歐洲に於てアバカスとして知られてゐるものと多少の形態は異なるが、同じプリンシプルから成り立つものである。彼は此時日本人は外貌よりは中味が偉いと信じ出した。何となればキヤリホルニヤに金鑛の發見せられたるは千八百四十五年であつて、全アメリカの冒險家はキヤリホルニヤに集まつたが、その冒險家は殆んど無教育であつた。それはフロム・ゴールド・ウエストの演劇が示めすやうに、彼等は鑛山村の居酒屋に居る給仕女から文字を習ひ、給仕女に何事も相談する程度のものであつたから、それに比して日本の教育の普及に驚いたのである。

古代に於ける東西の交通なかりし頃から、東西の間に類似のあることは右の如くであるが、畢竟世界はドクトル・ジャラルスキーの言ふが如く一つの有機體である。各國はそれを組織する細胞である。各國の歴史は世界史の一部分である。

然るに茲に突然として日本の歴史と世界の歴史とを隔絶せしむる一大事變が起つた。それは天主教の廣布に伴ふゼシュイット教徒の政治的陰謀であつた。天正十二年、(千五百四十三年)ボル

トガルの商船が薩摩の種ヶ島に漂着したことを因縁としてザヴィエーの渡來となり、その熱心と篤行は多くの信徒を作り、九州のみに於て二百萬人がキリスト教徒となり、九州地方は殆んどクリステンドムとなつた。然るにザヴィエーの徒弟及び繼いで來りしものは、ザヴィエーほどの高風、厚德がないのみならず、ゼシュイット宗教の特質である目的のために手段を選ばずといふイグナシヤス・ド・ロヨラ流の人々であつて、政治的陰謀を懷抱するものであるが如くに疑はるゝに至つた。そしてスペイン人とポルトガル人は、交々徳川政府の歡心を得んがために、互に讒誣中傷を逞ふしたゝめに、此疑惑が益々深められたとき、寛永十四年(西曆千六百三十七年)のキリスト教徒の叛亂が起つた。

長崎に近き島原の地は、九州クリステンドムの中心であつたが、此地のキリスト教徒は、徳川幕府の命令を奉じてキリスト教を排斥せんとする領主に抗争すべく起ち、一夜にして島原城を奪ひ、戦鬪力ある一萬五千人は、二萬二千餘人の老人と婦人小兒を抱容して、城に立て籠つた。幕府は之を平ぐるため十萬六百十九人の兵士を動かし、四ヶ月にして漸やく之を夷平することが出来た。

此事が動機となつて、キリスト教を絶対に禁止する法令が勵行せられ、外國人の入國の禁令が

勵行せられた。之より先徳川氏のために亡ばされた豊臣氏の遺臣等の中には幾萬のキリスト教徒があり、或は城主であり、或は一派の首領であり、或は有名なる勇士であるものが少なくなかつたが、彼等の或る者は國內に潜伏し、また或る者は海外に逃竄したと信ぜられた。徳川幕府は國內の非徳川派が、海外に於けるキリスト教徒と相策應して、革命軍を起さん事を恐れ、日本船舶の外國に出るを禁じ、五百石以上の船を作るを禁じ、現在五百石以上の船は、悉く幕府に沒收し、海外に在りし日本人が歸國することを禁じた。勿論外國人の入國は禁ぜられた。唯だ支那人とオランダ人のみは、長崎に來りて貿易を通することを許されたが、此禁令は非常の力を以て強行せられた。

日本は東洋の孤島であつて、外國との交通が、初より頻繁でないのに加へて、政府が嚴令酷法によりて、外國との交通を禁するがため、日本が外國の消息を聽き得るがためには唯だオランダの船長が耳にしたる風聞を聽取するのみであつて、日本は全然、世界の輦輶數となつた。

然るに十七世紀から十八世紀に至る間に、歐洲には急激なる大變革が起つた。政治上に於て舊來の權威が衰へて、新しき權威が生じた。經濟上の變化から中産階級が起り、茲にデモクラシーと自由主義とが起つた。舊權威の衰亡と共に學問研究の自由が起り、科學が其德澤を人間の日常

生活に及ぼす時代となつて來た。近世文明が朝日の昇るが如き勢で、其光を示して來た。然るに徳川氏の鎖國政策の爲に、日本は全然此大勢に取り残された。然しながら鎖國政策のため徳川氏をして三百餘年の太平を保たしめた。此間、一回の外戦もなかつた。支那の明朝政府が、清朝に攻められて、將に滅びんとするとき、援兵を出さんことを求めて來たが、之を謝絶した。また一回の内亂も起らなかつた。此太平の間に、諸侯は其の領内に産業を起し、山野を開拓して農業を獎勵し、水利を起し、道路を作り、中流以上の諸侯は競うて中央より學者を招聘して學校を開き、學者の説を徴して、政治に對する參考としたので、封建制度はその家長的政治の權力によりて國民の機能を相當に發揮せしむることに成功した。故に國勢の進歩は決して止まなかつた。

日本自家の文明

日本人は此間に於て、メタフィジックスに於ても、異常の進歩を示し、そのメタフィジックスは、今日歐洲人の學者が唱ふる所に劣らぬ立派なものであつた。その哲學者は、その議論に於て優秀であつたのみでなく、その生活に於て、一代の師表となりし高尚なる聖徒であつた。經濟學はまた歐洲のそれに劣らない進歩を示し、貨幣數量説が説かゝるのみならず實行せられた。メタリストの貨幣説も稱へられた。管理貨幣の説をも生んで、且つ實行せられた。金銀兩本説も生れ、

その嚴格なる意義に於ての兩本説は實行せられた。グレンシャムの惡貨は良貨を驅逐するの説は、千五百五十八年に唱へられたものであるが、その闡明せられたのは千八百五十七年マクレアドの論文によつてである。然るに日本に於ては安永元年(千七百七十二年)に於て三浦梅園が已にその「價源」に於て惡貨が良貨を驅逐するの説を唱道してゐる。梅園は固よりグレンシャムの説を聞知する機會がなかつたが、獨創の見により此の説を唱ふる程、一般學問の淵源が深かつた。藝術も、工藝も、また此間に發達した。二十世紀の日本が有する藝術や工藝は、此間に發達したもの、修正、改良、發達に他ならぬほどである。要するに日本は開國以前に於て、已に鬱然として一個の文明を築き上げたのである。

唯寛永十三年(千六百三十六年)の鎖國令は、日本をして不自然に歪められたる發達を爲さしめた。此の鎖國令の爲めに、日本に來つて貿易し得るものは、支那とオランダの商人のみとなつた。そして日本商人は一步も海外へ踏み出すことが出來ぬやうになつたので、一切の貿易は、支那とオランダの商人の手中に掌握せられ、賣るにも、買ふにも、より廣く、より有益なる市場を選択するの自由がなくなつた。貿易の場所は長崎の一港に限られるがため、一切の商品は長崎に蒐集せられねばならなくなつた。従つて外國貿易の利益は長崎に來往し通信し、聯絡を有する商人の

ために特占せられ、そして支那人やオランダ人が、最小の危險を以て、最大の利益を收め得る商品のみが輸出せられたるがため、商品の種類は極めて制限せられた。且つ徳川幕府は過大の輸入が、金銀貨幣の流出を刺戟せん事を恐れ、貿易を統制せんとする政策を立て、オランダの商船は一ヶ年二艘を限りて入港を許るし、その販賣品の價格を銀三千貫目に制限し、支那の商船は、一ヶ年十三艘を限りて入港することを許るし、一艘の商品の價格は銀二百貫目に制限した。而して右の貿易は何人も勝手に關係することが出來るのではなく、江戸、大阪、堺、長崎、京都五市の巨商人六千六百四十六人から成立する長崎會所(長崎コンパニー)の專有することとなつてゐた。此會所の首長幹部は長崎町の長老であり、そして彼等は會所の利益の幾分を、長崎町の地主及び一家を構ゆる住民に分配したのであるから、長崎會所は、以上の五大都府の商人、及び長崎の獨立の住民を株主とする東印度會社の如きものとなつた。

此長崎會所が最初に許可せられたるは正徳五年(千七百十五年)であつたから、英國にてマアチヤント・アドベンチュアラス・オブ・イングランドが開始せられたるより三百年後れ、東印度會社が開始せられたるより一百十五年後の事である。此點に於てもまた英國と類似する所があるが、唯だ英國にては、特許會社は海外に力を用ひて活躍し得るに反して、日本では一切の商人が、海

外に出動することを禁じられたので、我經濟機構はゆがめられて不自然なる發達をせねばならなかつたのである。

そして此の間、歐洲に於ては理化學が發達し、その實際の應用によりて、機械文明が起り、大量生産が起り、その巨額の生産品を消費すべく、海外の市場と殖民地とを獲得しつゝあつたが、日本は此風潮に後れた爲めに、多くの不利益を招いた。それは二百年の立ち後れであつた。

嘉永六年(千八百五十三年)アメリカのペリーが日本の門戸を叩いた時、日本は此の如く三百年のハンデキャップを、背に負ふて起ち上り、そのハンデキャップを四五十年間に取り返へたのである。それは我々が已に高度の文明を有し、近世國家となるべき、十分の素養を有し、我々の形式を變すれば、直ちに新形勢に應酬し得べき準備を持つてゐたからである。歐米人は唯だ々々最近四五十年間のことのみを見て、日本が千有餘年前からの歴史上に於て、歐洲に比して、若しくは進み、若しくは後れて、結局並行して歐洲と同一の歴史的過程をたどつて來たことを諒解せずして新形勢に驚く。そして此驚異が多くの誤解を産むのである。誤解から來る所の賞讃は、我にはくすぐらるゝ如くに感ぜらるゝ如く、誤解から來る非難に對して、我々は激昂もせねば憤懣もせぬ。日本人は他の毀譽褒貶の外に、自から信する所があるからである。

西洋人が日本を輕侮しかけた機會

明治元年(千八百六十七年)最後の徳川將軍である慶喜は、二百六十年間掌握したる日本統治の權力を皇室に返上した。同じ年に 孝明天皇が崩御し給ふて 明治天皇が新たに登極し給ふた。

世間では此時から新日本は開かれたと言ふのである。

然れども新日本は此時から起つたのではない。新日本は已に久しく醗酵して居つた。唯だ此時に至つて酒樽の重き蓋を取り去つただけである。日本全國に瀰漫したる攘夷鎖國の風氣は、明治天皇が皇位に即き、薩摩、長州、土佐、肥前等の雄藩から出た政治家が、その樞權を握ると共に、數ヶ月の間に鎮靜した。攘夷鎖國を號呼する暴風の中から現出した新政府は、開國和親の政策を掲ぐるのみならず一切の行政を歐米流に改造せんと努力したのである。彼等が最初に歐洲やアメリカの軍艦、大砲、電氣機械等を見聞したる時は、その威力と精巧と、及び此の如きものを生産するその文明の高度なるに驚愕した。然れども暫らくして、我國民の智能、學問、氣力は已に別箇の文明を形づくりたるものであり、その程度は同一であるが唯だ形式を異にするのみであり、そして世界の形勢に順應すべく我文明を變形せしむれば、世界各國と雁行することは決して難事でないことを確信した。そして文明の變形は、政府が直接に責任を有する部分から企てねばな

らぬと決心したのである。

斯くて海軍はイギリスの専門家を、陸軍と法律制定にはフランスの専門家を、土木にはオランダの専門家を、教育にはアメリカの専門家を、農政にはドイツの専門家を招聘すること數百人であつた。そのみならず俊秀の少年が歐米に出でて留學するものまた數百人であつた。斯くて歐米の新風潮は一時日本を震蕩した。歐米人が日本に對する誤解は茲に始まつた。彼等は日本が自から歐米に屈從したと信じた。彼等は日本が第二流、第三流の位置に甘んずものであると信じ出した、それは日本人が何等固執すべき特殊の文明を持たぬことを自覺したからであると信じた。且つ彼等は安政年間の日米條約を始めとして、歐米各國皆な治外法權を有するを以て、日本を待遇すること、エヂプトと同一の地位と見て差支なきものと信ずるに至つた。斯くて彼等は白人種の優越觀を以て、日本及び日本人に臨んだのである。

彼等は日本人が彼等と異なる住宅、彼等と異なる服裝、彼等と異なる作法によりて、彼等と交際するのを見て、自から之を輕侮するやうになつた。

併しながら彼等は日本が歐洲の文明に學ばんとするは、決して自からその文明を放擲したるにあらざることを解し得なかつた。その文明を吸収して我が文化を肥やし、その學術工藝を學習し

て世界の風潮に順應せんとするものであつて之によりて他日歐米と雁行し、若くは之を凌駕し得ることに就て、確然たる自信を持つてゐることを解し得なかつた。彼等は治者階級に於ても、被治者階級に於ても「和魂洋才」の文字がモットーであることを解し得なかつた。彼等は日本人が文明に於ても、氣魄に於ても、昂然として自尊心を持つてゐることを解し得なかつた。彼等は日本に於ては小銃と、微力なる大砲しか存在せざるのを見て、日本人の武器に就ての才能を疑つた。併しながら徳川幕府の二百六十年治世中、鳴原の天主教徒の叛亂を他にしては、一回の内亂もなく、一回の外戦もなかつたので、武器が發達する機會がなかつたのである。そのみならず幕府時代に、各藩の士によりて考案せられ製造せられ、之を世間に公表する機會なく、空しく其藩主の倉庫に秘藏せられたる武器の中には、驚くべき精巧にして進歩的なものがあつた。若し各藩主が徳川幕府の猜疑を恐れずして、之を製造したならば、我が武器の技術は歐洲と並行して、後れを取らなかつたであらうと思はるゝほどである。之に反して、刀劍は一個人が日々之を使用する機會があるので、その鍛鍊の方法と銳利なることは、世間に類例のなき程度に發達したのである。實用の機會なき武器が發達せなかつたのを見て、日本人の才能を疑ふのは速了の見であつた。

明治の初年に於て、日本の陸軍はフランスの軍人を招聘して教師となし、歐洲風の軍服の日本

化せられたるものを兵卒に着用せしめ、銃器の操縦を教訓せしめた。野外操練を見物したる外國人は、日本の兵士の體驅の小さなを見、その服裝の異様なるを怪しみ、玩具の兵隊と號して、之を嘲笑し、日本が英佛やドイツの商人に欺れて、徒らに武器の代價として巨大の黄金を搾取せらるゝのは、憐むべしといふものすらあつた。併しながら彼等は此玩具の兵隊の脈管中には、ナポレオンに劣らぬ名將やクラウゼヴィッツに劣らぬ兵學者の血液が、豊かに流れてゐることを解することが出来なかつた。

日本を輕侮したる懲罰

日本人が軍艦を操縦することも、また同一の輕侮を受けた。明治十七年頃の或る朝、英國の軍艦が長崎に停泊したとき、ロシアの或る軍艦が入港した。ロシア軍艦の指揮官がイギリスの軍艦を訪問したとき、談話は自然に東洋問題に及んだ。ロシアの指揮官は日本人は海軍々人として極めて不適任であるから、他日東洋問題に就て働らくべき役割はなかるべしと論じた。然るにイギリスの艦長は其の説を否定し、日本人は優秀なる海軍軍人であるが故に、東洋問題に對して他日重要な役割を演ずるであらうと論じた。その時一艘の日本軍艦が入港して、英露軍艦の附近に投錨したが、その投錨の仕方が如何にも巧妙であるので、英艦の指揮艦は我意を得たりと大呼し、

ロシアの指揮官に向つて日本軍艦を見ずや、その投錨の巧妙なることイギリス軍艦の外に、その比を見ることは出来ぬ。貴下は斯くても日本海軍の前途に疑を有するかと問ふた。その時ロシアの艦長は冷然として、日本人の軍艦操縦の技能は之を見た、但しそれは一艘の軍艦である。海戦は多數の軍艦によりて爲さるゝものである。余は日本人が大艦隊を操縦するの才能ありと信ずることは出来ぬと言つた。此ロシアの艦長は、それより二十年の後、ロシア皇帝の下に滿洲總督として日本と應接し、遂に日露戦争を開始したるアレキシーフであつた。日露戦争の結果、ロシアはその海軍力の全部を亡失し、ロシア國勢の傾歪は之から始まつたことは人の知る處である。それは何といふ皮肉の運命であるか。アレキシーフや、ロシアの軍閥や、貴族等が、今少しく日本の眞實を知り得たならば、近世の世界歴史は他の方向に向つて進んだであらう。

日本が國を開いたときの日本人は、久しく飢渴せるものが飲食するが如き勢で歐洲からの新事新學を學習せんとした。識者は二百餘年の鎖國の間にも秘かに歐洲の新學と新勢を聞知して、日本をして此新勢に順應せしむるの準備をなさねばならぬ事を力説して居つたが、今や鎖國の鎗を握る徳川政府が倒壊し、開國の政策を實行せんとする新政府が現出したので歐米の新學新事は堤を破つた洪水の如くに襲來した。此時の歐米の風潮はデモクラシー、自由主義、議會制度が最

も強力であつた。そして各國間の親睦、平和、自由貿易が最も高調せられた時であつた。そしてそれは日本人の平常理想する所に吻合したので、最も熱心に取り納れられたものであつた。日本人は單に或理想を歌咏するのみならず、之を實行に移し、單にそれを少數なる識者の間に私せずして一般人民の日常の生活に應用する國民である。支那の儒者の教ふる孔子の道は、その本國でさへ、唯だ文字の上で唱ふるのみで、學者自身ですらも之を實行するものは極めて少數であつたが、日本人は之を書齋の粧飾とするに止めず日常の生活に實行することを企てた。更に西歐文明の骨子であるデモクラシー、自由主義、議會制度を見聞するや、我意を得たりとなし、直に之を實行に移し、之を學校で教授し、之を法律に編入し、行政上に於て之を實行した。大中學校は此思想の溫床であつた。

新律綱令や改定律令は、多分にナポレオンコードの臭氣を帯びて居つた。國際法は國內法の如くに尊重せられ戰時に於ても嚴格に準據せられた。一切の政治は歐洲文明國通有の形に則つて改められた。遂に明治二十二年(西曆千八百八十九年)に憲法を發布し、天皇が憲法の條章を守つてその統治權を行ふことを宣布し、翌年帝國議會を開設した。併しながら此間一人の政治家も日本文明を歐洲文明に比して劣弱であるとなし、之を放擲することは考へた者はない。二百餘年間の

鎖國政策がなかつたならば、當然此境に赴いたであらうことを信じて、西歐文明を吸収したのである。そこに不自然もなければ作爲もない。それは日本人種の本來の機能で確固たる自信を持つた上の事である。故に開國以來、日本が近世國家になつたのは、製造でなくして生長であつた。模倣でなくして發達であつた。

新日本は模倣に非ず發達也

徳川幕府は嚴令酷法によりて、國民が海外のことを知るを妨げ、國民が從來のものよりも新奇なる機具を發見使用する事さへも禁じたのであるが、その禁令者が亡びたる以上は、國勢は當然に變轉すべきものであつた。その變轉の要素としては、個人が活躍の自由を與へられたので、國民の個性が働らき出した。人民の土地所有權が公認せられたので、茲に農村的中産階級が有力となつて來た。從來政治上の中心勢力であつた士族が資本主義の風波に漂ふて壊滅すべき勢は、徳川幕府の創設せられたる慶長以後一百年頃から已に開始した。そこへペリーが來た。嘉永安政頃は、大都會に於ては士族は全然已に商業的中産階級の前に屈服してしまつた。諸藩はまた其財政に窮して、奴隸の如く賤しんだ町人から借金によつて、一時を凌ぐばかりであつた。此の如く封建的治者階級である大名と士族が壊滅するとき、自然に農業、商業的中産階級が社會の構成要素

となる事は争ふべからざる勢であつた。平凡なる歴史家は明治元年薩長の兵士が朝廷の爲に伏見鳥羽に於て、徳川幕府の軍隊を撃破したのを見て、彼等が眞に彼等の力で幕府を倒したものと信じ、千歳の大功業であるが如く持て囃すが、徳川氏は十八世紀の後からの財政窮迫のために已に實質に於て倒れて居つた。之を倒すに武力の必要はなかつた。昔し武藏坊辨慶が源義經を侍衛して奥州の衣川で戦つたとき、數百本の鎧が辨慶の體に中つたが、辨慶が少しも恐れず立つて居るので、土兵は之を恐れて近づくものがなかつた。併しながら戦が終つて近づいて見れば、辨慶は已に數百の矢を負ふて死んで居りながら突つ立つて居つたのである。幕府は衣川の辨慶と同じく、實は數十年前に、死んで之を倒すものがないので突つ立つて居つたのである。薩、長、土の兵士は、立往生したる殘骸を葬つたに過ぎぬのである。そして、その倒れた後に現はれたものは中産階級であつた。彼等が社會の構成要素となり、人民の個性が働らき出したとき、歐洲が中産階級の現出と共にデモクラシー化したるが如く、自由が要求せられたるが如く、議會が勢力を得たるが如く、我が日本が近世歐洲と類似なる局面を呈することは、また自然の勢ひであつた。日本人は八百年前に於て、已に支那の詩人をして天下第一の讚辭を呈せしめたる刀劍を作り、四百年前に於て已に刀劍を支那に對する輸出品とした。それが今日に於て製鐵事業に成功しても不思議は

ない。三百年前から最良の生糸を作つた國民が、今日天下有數の織緯工業國となつても不思議はない。公侯將相豈に種あらんやとの東洋思想の持主は、即ち平等思想を受け納るゝに敏感である。天下は天下にして、一人の天下にあらずといふ思想は、憲法政治の母胎である。日本が六七十年の間に近代化したることは、自然の發達であり、生長である。少しも不自然でなく、また模倣でもなかつた。斯くて我々は、一切の法律を改定した。政府の組織に大變革を加へた教育の制度を更改した。兵制を變革した。およそ政權の及ぶ一切の事を更改して、西歐文明の精神を吸取さすべくして、日本を全く近世化してしまつた。我々は之によりて歐米諸國が日本の眞價を認め、國際關係に於て、日本が有すべき當然の位置を與へんことを希望した。

世界は此希望に對して何を與へたか？

歐米に於ける日本の友人すらも、日本の變化を以て、急激に過ぐるとなし、自國の歴史を忘却するものとなし、其處に危險があると警告した。東洋人全體に對して嫌惡の念を有するものは、未開國民が文明國民の模倣をするものであるとなして之を輕侮し、寧ろ支那を以て固有の文明を維持する間に政治的實力を保有する者と信じた。支那は日本を以て、歐米の文化に眩惑せられて、その固有の文明を失ひ浮華輕佻、自から衰亡に赴くものとして、之を輕侮した。そして日本が鋭

意内政を改革する間に支那はその陸海軍を強化することに全力を集中して、之によりて日本を制壓せんことを企圖し、數ば日本に對して示威運動を試みたので、日本は已むを得ず之に對抗すべく軍備を増大せざるべからざるに至つたが、當時支那には定遠、鎮遠の甲鐵艦があつた。それは七千五百噸で、東洋に於て最大の巨艦であつて、之より以下十二艘の戰艦を以て雄偉なる艦隊を作つた。然るに日本の艦隊は之に比して頗る劣勢であつたに拘らず、挑まれたる戰は避くべからず、遂に明治二十七年支那の進出に應ずべく朝鮮に兵を出して開戰した。

歐米人の多くは支那が勝つであらうことを信じた。然るが故に其外交政策も、勝利者に媚附することを方針とし、支那援助に傾いた。然るに意外にも小國の日本が、大國の支那を完全に打倒し、東洋第一の艦隊を全滅せしめた。日本陸軍の尖兵は北京に近づいた。日本は劣勢の艦隊を以て支那に勝ちたるに拘らず、國際公法を文字通り嚴守した。日本の陸軍は古來の英雄が戰場に残したるあらゆる善行を壓搾したるが如き高尚なる精神を以て、節制ある行軍を爲した。之を以て日本は自から誇る所があつた。

然るに歐洲列國は、日本と支那の曲直、文明の高下などは眼中になく、唯だ日本軍の意外なる進出に驚いて、フランス、ドイツ、ロシアの三國が聯合して、イギリスを誘引し、日本を抑制し

てその進出を停止し、そして勝戦の物獲を剝取せんことを企てた。イギリスは躊躇した。その態度は曖昧であつたが、併しながら流石に聰明なる政治家の意見が、自由黨の内閣に現はれて、此掠奪團體の域外に立つた。此三國干涉の結果として、日本は一旦屈服したる支那から、條約によりて得たる獲物の中、遼東半島を放棄せねばならなくなつた。そしてその後間もなくロシアは全滿洲にその勢力を及ぼした。勿論遼東半島はその中であつた。ドイツは膠州灣を支那から奪つてしまつた。

日本は近世文明に就て、情熱的の憧憬を持つ。そして日本を近世化することに全力を盡した。武力を持つて飛躍せんとするが如きは夢にも考慮したことはない。その最大の希望は、文明國の伍班に列することであつた。それ以下でもなく、それ以上でもない、唯それだけであつた。然るに歐洲列國は近世的國家となり得ぬ。また成ることを嫌惡する支那の武力を尊重して、日本を輕侮し、そして輕侮せる日本が、支那を打倒するや、歐洲は集つて日本を抑制して、その獲物を掠奪せんとした。日本は歐洲の干涉を排斥すべき武力を持たぬため、悲憤を抑ゆるに苦笑を以てして之に屈服した。日本人は此屈服の中から歐洲人は文明平和の政治を喝采するものでなく、武力を示さずんば我々の眞正の位置を解するものでないことを曉つた。之よりして我々は陸海軍を擱

張すべく迫られた。之は我々が開國以來四十餘年の間歐洲人から受けた最大なる教訓であつた。

北京に於ける各國の眞價

明治三十年に至つて、突然として北京天津を中心として、北清の各地に團匪の亂が起つた。そして北京の朝廷、及び政府も之に巻き込まれて終ひ、北京の各國公使館は重圍に陥つて救援の道なく、通信する方法もない。茲に於てか、東京に於ける各國使臣相會合して、日本は支那と最も近距離の地に在り、出兵の便宜があるから、大兵を出して救援するの任に當らんことを請求したので、日本は大兵を發して各國と共同して之を救援した。此間に關係したる各國の兵力は左の如くであつた。

日本	一〇〇〇〇人	砲五十四門
ロシア	四〇〇〇人	砲十六門
イギリス	三〇〇〇人	砲十二門
アメリカ	二〇〇〇人	砲六門
ドイツ	八〇〇人	砲十二門
フランス	二〇〇人	砲十二門

斯くて我兵が各國の軍隊と共同して、天津から行く行く支那兵を掃蕩しつゝ、北京市に入つたので、各國の使臣及び其家族等は、瀕死の状態から辛うじて救ひ出された。已にして事終つて、支那政府と交渉し、賠償金を取つて、騷亂の結末を清算すべく列國會議が開かれたが、日本は第一に發言して五千萬圓を要求したが、爾後各國の要求は左の如くであつた(日本紙幣に換算して)。

ロシア	一億八千萬圓
ドイツ	一億三千萬圓
フランス	一億萬圓
イギリス	七千萬圓
日本	五千萬圓
アメリカ	四千五百萬圓
イタリア	三千八百萬圓
ベルギー	千二百萬圓

前節に示した兵數と砲數と此賠償金額とを比較せよ、一萬人の兵と五十四門の大砲を出したる日本は、僅かに五千萬圓を要求したるに、四千人の兵と十六門の砲を出したに過ぎざるロシアは、

一億八千萬圓を要求し、八百人と砲十二門を出したるドイツは、一億三千万圓を要求し、二百人と十二門の砲を出したるフランスは一億萬圓を要求した。併しながら世界は歐洲人の無遠慮にして、大膽にして、露骨にして、健啖なるに驚きもせず、却つて日本人の馬鹿正直にして遠慮過ぎたるを憐れんだらしい。

此時に於ける日本の位置は、東方に於ける文明のための警察官の役目を働いたのであつた。日本なければ北京に於ける列國の外交官及びその家族は、一切殺戮せられたであらう。血を嘗めた犬は更らに勢を得て、天津、上海、厦門、福州、南京に於て一切の外國人を殺傷したであらう。そしてそれは全アジアの有色人蜂起の鐘聲となつたであらう。然らざりしものは、日本が主導的地位に立ち、大兵を發して列國と協同戰線を張つたからである。然るに日本が此の如くに人道のために無慾な努力をしつゝある間に、ロシアは北京附近の治安には何等の關心を持たず、その軍隊の大部分を何等の騷擾もなく、また騷擾の起るべき危険もなき滿洲に駐屯せしめた。各國が支那から軍隊を引上げた後も、ロシアは依然として滿洲から手を引かぬのみならず、更らに兵力を増加した。幾回か世界に向つて宣言したことを裏切つて、事實に於て滿洲を占領してしまひ、更らに朝鮮にまで、その手を伸ばさんとするの意圖を示して來た。

世界の爲めに立ち上つた日本

ロシアは千八百九十八年五月の皇帝戴冠式に於て、各國使臣の朝賀を受けたのを機會として氣満ち意驕り、國境の全面に迫力をかけて、四方に進出する形勢を示して來た。茲に於てか、イギリスは印度に於ける安全と、極東に於て威望を維持するために、日本はロシアが極東に進出するを防ぐために、兩ながら利害の共通する所があるのに鑑みて、明治三十五年(千九百二年)一月三十日、日英同盟の條約を締結した。

ロシアは何人もが豫想したる如く、全く滿洲を占領してしまつた。それは支那とロシアの間に、秘密に攻守同盟が締結せられた結果であつた。そして旅順港を改造して、軍港としてしまつた。ロシアは更らに朝鮮半島に向つて進出して來た。ロシアが半島を占領すれば、それは日本の心臓にピストルを擬するやうなものであるから、日本は最後の決心をして立ち上つた。その結果は今更説くには餘りに顯著な明治三十七八年の日露戰爭であつた。巨大なゴライヤスは、短少なるダヴィドのために倒された。世界は之を喝采した。然れども事實に於て此戰爭の意義は、日本の武勇、善戰、善謀を喝采して已むべき程度の者ではなかつた。若しロシアが勝つたならば、日本が第三流の國民として本島内に追ひ込まれたならば、そして滿洲、朝鮮がロシアの所有物となつた

ならば、そしてロシア公使が攝政らしく北京の朝廷に出入したならば、それは近世國家に對する中世紀國家の勝利である。文明に對する野蠻人の勝利である。コサックは、東方の勝利によりて歐洲に進出したのであらう。ドイツ國境の地圖は塗り替へられたであらう。インドはやがてモスコの訓令を受けたであらう。ボラボラスの海峡はロシアの管理の下に移つたであらう。斯くて世界の地圖は茲に一大轉換をしたであらう。此轉換を壓振して、近世文明を維持したものは日本である。それは昔しペルシャの未開人が大國衆をなして、歐洲に進出し、ギリシャ文明の滅亡が明日に迫つたとき、テミストクレスがサミラスに於て、ペルシャの大軍を破つて、ギリシャ文明を維持したと同じことである。奉天會戰はサミラスの決戰であつた。日本は獨り自家の存亡のために戦つたのみならず、實にヒウマニティーの爲に戦つた。近世文明維持のために戦つたのである。日本は實に世界の感謝を期待した。

世界は何を以て日本の期待に酬答したか？

世界は曾つて日本を以て、玩具の兵隊の國、幼稚なる海軍の國、櫻花の國、富士山の國、蒔繪の國、團扇の國、婦人の下駄の下からカラコロと音楽を奏する國とのみ思ふたのに、今やそれが世界最大の強國を撃破したので、それが如何なる文明を有し、如何なるコースのために戦ひ、そ

の戦勝が世界の文明に如何なる結果を來たすかを思量するの暇なく、唯だその武力に驚くのみであつた。此驚愕は多くの謔言を生み出した。此謔言の中から、日本を以て好戰國民であると批評する聲が起つた。日本の勃興を以て黃禍なりとするカイゼルの畫は、羽のあるが如くに四方に飛んだ。或る者は從來歐米諸國の訓令に服したる有色人種が、往々にしてその宗主國に反抗する原因は日本が歐洲中の最大最強の國であるロシアを破り、その數千の捕虜を東京に送り、世界億萬の民の面前に、白人種の劣敗を公示したることに初まるといふ。之より千百の攻撃が日本の頭上に落ちて來た。

日本は近世文明を渴仰した。近世文明を文字通りに實行しつつある。近世文明の爲に戦つて、北方蠻人の蹂躪から之を救つた。日本は文明のために獅子の如くに雄々しく戦つた。そしてその結果、猿の如きものに書き落された。

世界戦争の時の日本

かゝる間に歐洲大戰が起つた。日本は歐洲大戰の中心とは、地勢懸隔して直接の利害はない。併しながら世界の平和と文明を維持したいのと、我同盟國である英國の危急存亡は座視すべきでないで、決然として立ち上り、ドイツ人が支那から掠奪したる膠州灣からドイツを驅逐してそ

の東洋攪亂の策源地としたるものを清掃した。我軍艦を動かして東洋南洋の全面を警護して其の治安を維持し、更らに地中海から南米沖迄も、我軍艦を動かした。今日迄我海軍は議會に於ても新聞紙に於ても、一回も歐洲大戰に對して我海軍が出勤したる詳細を語つたことはないの、歐米各國が之を知らざるのみでなく、日本人すらも知る人が少ない。余が我海軍の記録について調査した所によればその事實は左の如くである。

一九一四年

英國の請求により伊吹、筑摩の兩巡洋艦を印度方面に出し英國の艦隊と協同作戰して、獨逸のエムデン號を驅逐し、また濠洲、ニウジールランドから英本國を應援すべく遠征する軍隊を保護して、西部戦線に送つた。また巡洋戦艦金剛、巡洋艦淺間、出雲を南米沖に出勤せしめて、獨逸のスペー艦隊を追撃せしめた。

一九一五年—一六年

巡洋艦利根、對島の二艦を派して濠洲とアラビヤのアデンの間を警衛し、更らに巡洋艦新高、明石の二艦及び松、杉、柏、榊の四艘より成る第十一驅逐隊を派出してマラッカ海峡とスールー海を警備せしめた。

一九一七年

巡洋艦明石、第十第十一驅逐隊八艘を地中海に出勤せしめたが、此地方はドイツの潛行艇の得意の壇場であるので、聯合國側の小國は最も深く日本の軍艦に信頼し、その影を望んで意を安んずるといふ状態であつた。此間に驅逐艦榊はドイツ潛水艇の襲撃を受けて艦の前方は沈没し、艦長以下多數の將士が戦死した。別に巡洋艦筑摩、平戸の二艦をして、濠洲、ニウジールランドの警備に當らしめた。更らに巡洋艦利根、出雲の二艦をしてセレベス海、南支那海に出勤し、ドイツ商船の脱出を警戒せしめ、巡洋艦須磨、矢矧、吾妻、日進、春日の五艘及び第二驅逐隊四艘をシンガポール、セレベス海に出勤せしめた。

一九一八年

春日、八雲、須磨、淀の四軍艦及び第六驅逐隊四艘を出してシンガポール方面を警戒せしめ、矢矧、筑摩の二艦を濠洲に遊行せしめて之が警備に當らしめ、別に巡洋艦對馬を喜望峰に出勤せしめて警備に當り、また巡洋艦出雲と第十五驅逐隊四艘を地中海に派遣した。之より先巡洋艦明石は第十第十一驅逐隊と共に、地中海に活動しつゝあつたが、此増勢によりて地中海には、日本の巡洋艦二艘、驅逐艦十二艘が活躍するに至つたのである。此時イギリスから、更らに日本の主

力艦及び軍人の借用を申込んで来たが、之に應ずることが出来ぬので、便法を講じ、左の如く英國の船舶を使用して、之に日本風の名稱を附し、日本の軍艦旗を掲揚し、日本の將兵が乗り込み馳驅するに至つた。

第一、イギリスのトローラ二艘を、假裝巡洋艦とし、東京、西京と假稱して地中海に出動せしむ。

第二、イギリスの驅逐艦二艘に、日本の將兵が乗り込み日本軍艦旗を掲揚して、柁櫓、檣櫓と假稱して、同じく地中海に出動せしめた。之によりて我軍艦が、如何にドイツ側を恐怖せしめ、如何に聯合國側に信頼せられたるかを見るべし。

別に千九百十六年と十七年に、イギリス政府の請求に應じて、イギリス所有の金塊五千六百萬ポンドを、左の如く軍艦を以て、ウラジオストックからカナダ迄輸送した。

第一回

常磐、千歲

第二回

日進、春日

第三回

薩摩、日進、出雲、磐手

第四回

常磐、八雲

右はイギリスがロシアに賣つた兵器の代價で、イングランド銀行がロシア政府から受取つたものである。

亦フランス政府の請求により、驅逐艦十二艘を日本で急造し、日本の將兵を以て、之をポートサイド迄廻航して、フランス海軍に引渡した。また此大戰に際し、歐米各國其他が日本の商船を雇傭したる數は左の如くである。

英	五十七艘	十八萬噸
佛	三十一艘	十萬噸
伊	十四艘	六萬噸
米	五十六艘	二十六萬噸
シヤム	三艘	三千噸
和	一艘	五千噸
支	十六艘	四萬噸
チエツコスロヴァキヤ	六艘	四萬噸

日本國民は他の國民と同じく、種々の缺點と失策はある。併しながら、その與國に對して忠實

であり、利害得失を超越して、その信任に酬いんとすること、今日の文明を維持せんとするに、全幅の力を惜しまぬのは、日本人の特性である。

日本は新同盟國を求むる

日本は安政元年に國を開きしより、その唯一の目的は世界と同等の地位を得るのにあつた。之れ以下では決して満足はせぬが、また決して之れ以上を求むるものでなかつた。その目的を達するには舊文明の格式を變じて新文明に適應すべく、國策を近代化することにあると信じて、此目的に邁進した。全力を内政に注いで國防の如きは第二義に附せられた。歐洲諸國は日本の此努力とその前途を領解することが出来ずして、むしろ日本を小國として、侮る支那に媚附して、その自惚を増長した。斯くて明治二十七年日本は支那が朝鮮に進出するを防ぐべく、劣勢の軍備を以て起たねばならなくなつた。斯くして曾紀澤が眠れる獅子と自稱して、世界を威嚇したる支那は、眠れる狸に過ぎざる事を證明した。日本はまた三十七年にロシア南下の勢に抵抗するに、また劣勢の軍備を以て起つべく迫られた。そして世界はまた之によりて、世界最大の巨漢の足が粘土細工であつた事を曉つた。日本は決して自から侵略攻撃の意圖を有したことはなく、近世の二大戦も起つべく迫られて起つたものであるに拘らず、日本は好戰國民であるとして攻撃せらるゝ、そ

してその結果歐洲各國相聯合して、先づワシントン會議に於て、日本から正當の獲物を奪ひ、次にジュネーブに於て日本をして國際聯盟から脱退せねばならぬやうに仕向けた。

日本は文明のため獅子の如くに戦つた。そして猿の如くに書き落された。此等の事件の奥底には、何人も口にすることを好まぬが、確かに人種的感情が存在することは否定することは出来ぬ。白人種は十七八世紀から世界の各地に接觸し、有色人種に對して傍若無人にその優越觀を發揮したが、有色人種の中から日本が勃興し、文武兩面の成功によりて、世界は必しも白人種のみのものでないことを明にした。茲に於てか彼等は日本を以てアップスタートとなして、之を疎外する。そして異人種であるとして之を排斥する、一切の困難は之から發生する。然らば即ち日本人は此人種的僻見について憤怒するかといへば、余は確然として否といふ。日本人はかゝる僻見について憤怒するほどに小さき心魂を持たぬ。或る人に輕侮せられて憤怒するのは、幾分なりとも自ら見て彼より卑しとするものゝ常である。若し、日本の藝術を一切取るにたらぬ劣等の藝術であると評する無識漢あらば、我々は之に對して決して憤慨はせぬ。唯だその無識を憐れむのみである。之と同じく我々は若し日本の自然は汚穢狹小にして見るに足らずと罵る無趣味漢に出會ふても、我々は決して憤慨はせぬ。唯だ其の趣味の乏しきを憐れむのみである。之と同じく我々は歐

米に於て、一般にそして往々にして識者の間に於てすら存在する人種的僻見に對しては、不愉快に思ふが決して憤怒はせぬ。唯だ其心の淺狹を憐れむのみである。之と同じく白色人種は一樣に、有色人種に對しては之を疎外するに拘らず、彼等自身の間にもまた人種的僻見がある。歐洲大戰の中頃、フランスとイタリーが已に疲弊して、ドイツと單獨講和をするであらうといふ風説のあつた頃、上海の去るホテルの食堂で、一個の英人が、此風説を書ける新聞紙を手にして、勃然として色を作して立ち上り、フランスやイタリーの雜種兒共、講和をしたければ勝手にせよ、我々は同じ白人種の中でも、アングロサクソン人だけが正統派であつてフランス人やイタリー人は他の人種の血液を交へた間の子であるといふ意義である。人種的僻見が如何に根強く白人種の間には存在するかは此一事で測量することが出来る。

人類は數萬年前から本來の本能によりて進退して來た。鳩が教育せられずして數十里の先の舊巢に歸るが如く、犬が教へられずして數里の先からその主家に歸るが如く、鹿が圍集して移動するとき、教へられずして雄鹿が圍陣を作りて雌鹿と幼鹿を圍みて保護するが如く、總ての動物は本能によりて動く、唯だ人類のみは其間に生じたる優種が數萬年の間に道理を考へ出して、本能

を修正し、人をして合理的に進退せしむることを開始した。これが文明である。人類は始め己と同一部落に屬するものを愛して、他の部落に屬するものを敵視する本能によりて進退して來たが、文明が起るに至りて、他の部落の人類とも和親する心理を生ずるに至つた。人類が部落から國家を建設するに至りても、始めて他の國家の人民と接觸するときは忽然として原始的の本能によりて憎惡し、疑惑するが、やがてその理性に教へられて平靜を取り戻すのが、歴史の普通の過程である。日本はその過去の歴史に於て支那朝鮮を始め、あらゆる人種を歡迎して、その文化を採取し、異邦人を歡待して、一定の地區を與へて殖民せしめ、その首長にして才能あるものは中央政府の要職を與へてその技能を發揮せしめ、彼等の中には最高の軍權を與へられたものもあつた。近世に至りても此心理は寸毫の變化なく、他國からよき學問を取り、より賢き議論に渴仰し、より善き風習を學び、より善き人物を尊重し、人種的の僻見なるものは寸毫も持たぬ。日本人は頗る自尊の念が高いが、他のより善きものを尊敬することは、此自尊心と兩立するのみならず、却つて吻合するものと信ずる。かゝる自由にして、博大にして寛容なる心性から見れば、白人種の有色人種に對する人種的僻見は憤慨の種とならずして嘲笑の種となる。

若し日本人の心が、その體軀の如くに狹小であるならば、憤慨するであらう。若し憤慨すれば

報復の道を考へたであらう。日本人が拾鉢となり人類の修正せられざる本能に立ち返れば、報復の道は多々ある、東洋全體を糾合して白人種に當ることも一策であるとする人もあらう。一列の有色人種を糾合して白人種に當ることも一策であるとする人もあらう。併しながら日本人は斷じてそれをせぬ。何となればそれは人類全體の生活を破壊して、野蠻の昔に立ち歸らしむるものであるからである。日本人が二千五百年の努力の結果として築き上げたる文明を破壊し、日本自身の滅亡を來たすものであるからである。日本人は日本を解し得ざる人に對して憤慨するほどに些小なる心魂の持主ではない。氣永く忍耐し努力して、正解を求むるであらう。そして世界と共に文明を回復して平和を維持せんと勉むるであらう。

文明を回復して、平和を維持する方法如何？

利害相異なり、政治の理想の相背馳する數十の國民を一堂に會合せしめて、博辯や宏辭を陳列するの時代は已に去つた。今後は利害相會し、政治の理想稍々近き二、三國民の間に合従連衡を作るべき時代である。日本國民は今後平和と文明とを維持する目的を以て、新たに同盟を作るであらう。

近日に至り、歐米人が日本を知らんと欲すること熱切なるに係らず、日本に就ては猶ほ檢討の

足りぬ所がある。

彼等は犬養總理の暗殺から、二月二十六日の叛亂に至る幾多の兇變を見て、日本は全然其政治の中心を失して混亂に陥り、政治の良智が地を拂つてしまふと思ふものがないではない。

併しながら事實は決して左様ではない。常識と良智は依然として國民を指導してゐる。

日本のブランゼーとも思はれた將軍は、何故にその虚誇と煽動の力を十分揮ふことが出來ずして退却したか、之は國民の常識と良智に抵抗することが出來ぬ爲めであつた。日本の國民は大海の如きものである。その表面には波瀾重疊しても、その底の流は落ちつき拂つてゐる。その底流は常識と良智である。

今や此常識と良智は、世界の平和を回復して文明を維持するが爲め、何れの國民と同盟すべきかの一點に向つて動きつゝある。